

Historical Portraits

Richard II to Henry Wriothesley

1400—1600

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PREFACE

THIS collection of Portraits of Persons celebrated in the History of Great Britain and Ireland owes its existence largely to the zeal of Mr. Emery Walker, whose well-known skill as a reproducer of ancient pictures has elevated Photography to the rank of a fine art. It is not possible to guarantee the perfect authenticity of all the portraits reproduced; all that can be said is that no portrait has been admitted which was known to be without serious claims to authenticity. Much must depend in all doubtful cases upon the value attached to family tradition; and every one knows how very readily family tradition goes astray in the matter of pictures. Moreover, the History of the Art of Portrait-painting in Great Britain still remains to be written; and it ought to be written soon, before the details of the almost lost arts of line engraving and mezzo-tint are wholly forgotten.

It has been thought best to leave the portraits to speak for themselves, without attempting to point out in the accompanying 'Lives' their respective merits and defects. It is hoped that subsequent volumes may carry the series down to the middle of the nineteenth century; the reason for beginning at the close of the fourteenth will appear obvious to every one who knows anything of the History of Art.

It is obviously impossible to begin a series of portraits from a date at which portrait-painting was unknown north of the Alps.

This is the reason why the book begins, as all previous books of the same kind have begun, with King Richard II. Even for his picture and one or two more at the commencement of this volume little more than traditional authenticity can be claimed.


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The portraits from the National Portrait Gallery are from photographs by Mr. Emery Walker, F.S.A.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE		PAGE
Preface	iii	Mary Queen of Scots	72
Introduction	ix	John Knox	76
Richard II	1	William Cecil, first Baron	
Henry IV	4	Burghley	80
Henry V	7	Sir Francis Drake	83
Henry Beaufort	10	Sir Walter Raleigh	86
Henry VI	12	William Shakespeare	90
Richard Neville, Earl of		Margaret of Anjou	94
Warwick	16	Humphry Duke of Gloucester.	97
Edward IV	19	George Duke of Clarence	99
Edward V	22	Richard Fox	101
Richard III	23	Margaret Beaufort, Countess	
Henry VII	26	of Richmond and Derby	102
James IV, King of Scotland	29	Elizabeth of York	104
Henry VIII	31	John Colet	106
Thomas Wolsey	34	Thomas Linacre	108
James V, King of Scotland	38	William Tyndale	109
Sir Thomas More	41	Edward Stafford, third Duke	
Thomas Cromwell, Earl of		of Buckingham	111
Essex	44	Charles Brandon, Duke of	
Thomas Cranmer	46	Suffolk	112
Edward VI	50	Margaret Tudor	113
Edward Seymour, Duke of		Mary Tudor	114
Somerset	52	William Warham	115
John Dudley, Duke of North-		John Fisher	117
umberland	55	Katharine of Spain	119
Lady Jane Grey	58	Anne Boleyn	122
Mary I	60	Jane Seymour	124
Stephen Gardiner	64	Anne of Cleves	125
Elizabeth	67	Katharine Howard	126
		Katharine Parr	127

	PAGE		PAGE
William Paget	128	Sir Thomas Gresham	173
Hans Holbein	129	Antony Woodville, second Earl	
David Beaton	130	Rivers	174
Mary of Guise	131	William of Waynflete	175
Hugh Latimer	133	Henry Chicheley	176
Nicholas Ridley	136	Elizabeth Woodville	177
Edmund Bonner	138	Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk .	178
John Hooper	140	Arthur, Prince of Wales	179
William Maitland of Lething-		Edward Courtenay, Earl of	
ton	141	Devon	180
James Stewart, Earl of Moray	143	Thomas Howard, second Duke	
Matthew Parker	145	of Norfolk	181
John Whitgift	147	Lord William Howard	182
Henry Lord Darnley	149	Thomas Howard, third Duke	
James Hepburn, fourth Earl of		of Norfolk	183
Bothwell	151	Thomas Seymour, Lord	
Sir Henry Sidney	153	Seymour of Sudeley	184
Sir Philip Sidney	154	Henry Fitzalan, twelfth Earl of	
Robert Dudley, Earl of		Arundel	185
Leicester	156	Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of	
Sir Christopher Hatton	159	Tyrone	187
Richard Hooker	160	Sir Thomas Wyatt	189
John Jewel	161	George Buchanan	190
Charles Howard, Earl of		Isaac Casaubon	191
Nottingham	162	Edmund Grindal	192
Charles Blount, Earl of Devon-		Henry Carey, first Lord	
shire	163	Hunsdon	193
Sir John Hawkins	164	Thomas Sackville, first Earl of	
Edmund Spenser	165	Dorset	194
Henry Wriothesley, third Earl		John Foxe	195
of Southampton	167	George Wishart	196
Sir Francis Walsingham	168	Sir Nicholas Bacon	197
Robert Devereux, second Earl		Sir Thomas Smith	198
of Essex	170	Sir Martin Frobisher	199

INTRODUCTION

SOME effort of imagination is required to realize at the present time what sort of people were those of whom the King of Spades, the Queen of Hearts and the Knave of Diamonds were once agreed to be living resemblances. To us these more or less grotesque diagrams only remotely resemble men and women at all, and are totally lacking in characteristic features. Yet they were, no doubt, as completely individualized to the men who designed them, and their contemporaries, as a photograph of a living public character is to us. Imaginative discipline of the same sort is no less necessary to the study of the earliest paintings of English historical personages; the outlines are heavy and hard, surfaces which we are accustomed to see, in nature, varied with softly rounded shadows, appear as patches of flat tints, clothing is represented by a geometrical arrangement of lines and angles, and the accessory details contribute more to puzzle the spectator than to assist in defining the objects it was intended to represent.

It is, however, upon paintings of this type that we are dependent when we attempt to gather together a gallery of mediaeval portraits in a volume. The portraits occasionally to be found in illuminated manuscripts might indeed be relied upon to carry the series back to a more remote period; but as they are closely fettered by the decorative canons of the design of which they form part, they have not only, in an acute form, the defects already described, but also the added disadvantage of diminutive scale.

Coins and medals, in later periods of the highest importance,

particularly in the case of the portraiture of Royal personages, provide us with only scanty information until the Tudor period. It is from the effigies on their tombs that most of our knowledge of the appearance of the Kings and Queens, the great Churchmen and Soldiers of the Norman and Plantagenet periods, is derived. The series of monumental figures of English Sovereigns and Consorts from the Norman Conquest to the accession of the House of Stuart, although not complete, presents an impressive array, probably unrivalled by those which exist of any other European dynasty; but placed as they are, for the most part, in situations in churches where they are difficult to draw and impossible to photograph, these statues lie rather outside the range of a volume of illustrations such as the present; they must be studied *in situ*.

Our National gallery of painted portraits begins with Richard II. Of this monarch two most interesting and also very beautiful pictures are preserved, one the seated kingly figure, reproduced in these pages, which now hangs in the presbytery of Westminster Abbey, the other forming part of a diptych, or folding picture of two panels, now in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House. In this the King is represented with his patron saints kneeling at the feet of the Virgin and Infant Christ. It is uncertain whether these are the only chance survivors of a series of fine works of the same type, or really represent a brief meteoric blaze of the fine arts at the Court of Richard. It is also a matter of dispute whether the artist or artists belonged to the French school or to the band of Bohemian followers who accompanied Richard's queen, Anne, from the Court of Prague, where a very flourishing offshoot of the Italian school is known to have been established at that time.

The remaining Royal portraits—and few remain of any other rank—up to the time of Richard III belong to a class about whose origin but little is known. Their importance as portraits may be very

justly summed up in some words of Horace Walpole's in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*. 'Though not all originals,' he says, speaking of some other works attributed to this same era, 'they undoubtedly are very valuable, being in all probability painted from the best memorials then extant and . . . representations of remarkable persons of whom no other image remains.' In spite of the destruction wrought by religious and political fanaticism at the time of the Reformation and the Civil War, in spite of neglect due to changes of fashion, and decay due to the inevitable ravages of time, enough paintings remain, especially on the panels of screens in Churches in Norfolk and Suffolk, to show, apart from plentiful documentary evidence, that a prosperous school of pictorial art (affected, as was natural enough in that part of the country, by Flemish influence) existed in England during the fifteenth century. At the same time, it seems probable that a very considerable proportion of the actual pictures which have come down to us are what are called restorations, copies, that is, of the later Tudor period, either made to complete already existing sets of the Kings of England, or forming parts of series entirely manufactured at that time.

With the admirable portrait of Henry VII, which is now happily preserved in the National Portrait Gallery, and of which a reproduction is here given, we quit the category of the Court-cards and enter the realm of portraiture in the modern sense. A wealthy and securely-seated sovereign, reigning in peace over a rich country, happy in encouraging the political and commercial relations of his kingdom with the continent of Europe, was a potential Maecenas to whom some of the less fashionable denizens of the teeming artistic hives of Italy and Flanders were glad to pay their court. Piero Torrigiano (1472-1522), the Florentine sculptor, fellow student of Michelangelo, was one of these; and in designing the magnificent monumental effigies of the King, his Queen and his mother, in Westminster Abbey, was

astute enough to colour his style with a strong infusion of naturalism, to make it palatable to the taste of a race which he regarded as semi-barbarian. To the Flemish immigrants, such as the artist to whom our picture of the King is due, this highly elaborated imitation of nature came quite naturally. One of the most successful of these men, one who, indeed, narrowly missed being a great portrait painter, was Jan Rave (fl. 1512-44), who also latinized his name as Johannes Corvus. It is not known when he came to England, but his finest work, the picture of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, preserved at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, appears to have been executed between about 1520 and 1528. Another noble portrait from his hand is that of Mary Tudor, Queen of France, in the collection of Mr. H. Dent Brocklehurst at Sudeley Castle ; a third work attributed to him is the portrait of Queen Mary I, illustrated in the present volume.

All minor stars, and there must have been many of all nationalities shining, were eclipsed by the appearance of one in whom the Teutonic mastery of minute and literal statement of fact was blended with something of the Southern love of colour and softly rounded light and shade, and heightened by insight and genius of the highest order. This was Hans Holbein of Basel (1497-1543), who arrived in England in 1526, bearing an introduction from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, by whom the painter was forthwith commissioned to paint a large group of the More family. Drawings for several of the heads and copies or imaginary reproductions of the whole picture are in existence, but the original work, if it was ever executed, has disappeared. The single bust of Sir Thomas More himself in the possession of Mr. Edward Huth (included in the present collection) is dated 1527. William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, another correspondent of Erasmus, also patronized Holbein, and sat, also in 1527, for a portrait of which three examples are

preserved, one at Lambeth Palace, a second in the Museum of the Louvre, and the third (here reproduced) in the collection of Viscount Dillon at Ditchley.

From this time Holbein's supremacy at the English Court was assured, but unfortunately many of his most admirable pictures of English men and women have been allowed to drift away from their native land. Thus his finest portraits of two Queens, Anne of Cleves and Jane Seymour, are now the one in Paris, the other in Vienna; while his original sketch of the head of Henry VIII adorns the Royal print-cabinet at Munich. With this last important exception, however, Holbein's most valuable legacy to students of English history is the magnificent series of drawings in chalks on pale pink paper of almost all the most famous personages of Henry VIII's Court; and these are preserved nearly intact in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle. The head of Bishop Fisher in the present volume is a specimen of them. As a gallery at once of contemporary portraits and of works of art of the highest order, these drawings are without any possible rival. Holbein's last work, left unfinished when he was snatched away by the plague, was a large panel representing Henry VIII granting a charter to the Barber-Surgeons' Company of London; our portrait of the King forms part of this composition.

During Holbein's lifetime the peculiarly English art of miniature-painting in water-colours took its rise. It was in some degree a derivative of the illuminations with which it had been customary to enrich not only manuscript, and, more recently, printed books, but patents, grants and documents of that kind; in these very frequently the initial letter was actually adorned with the Royal portrait. From the point of view of the historian, miniatures, particularly those of the earlier periods, are only too often of little value on account of the difficulty of verifying the subjects.

Owing perhaps to their portability, even the sequence of their owners—to say nothing of the identity of their subjects—can very seldom be traced with the certainty that attaches itself to more bulky portraits on wood or canvas, preserved for long generations on the walls they were originally intended to decorate; while the smallness of the space at the command of the artist often precluded the introduction of inscriptions, coats of arms, and other marks of identification. For somewhat similar reasons, although the names of a number of miniature-painters, or limners as they were called, of the Tudor period, have been recorded, the difficulties of apportioning their extant works amongst them are now quite beyond solution.

The success of Holbein and other foreign artists soon encouraged that native talent for the fine arts, which has always been present, and that in an eminent degree, in England, to produce fresh evidences of its vitality. Among the British painters of this period the name of one Guillim Strete has been greatly conjured with. Actually, however, the pictures attributed to him, although all works of remarkable merit, display a variety of styles, influenced now by Holbein, now by the Italians; which seems clearly to show that they cannot be the work of one man. Other artists, equally shadows of names, it is scarcely necessary to mention here.

A foreigner of great talent, very little lower than the greatest, whose name has attached itself to English history on the strength of a few portraits only, was Anthonis Mor. He came to England to paint for Philip II the wonderful portrait of his bride Mary I, now in the Prado Gallery at Madrid. Besides this, which is probably the only picture executed by him in England, Mor painted several portraits of Sir Thomas Gresham, one of which is included in the present collection, and others of sundry Englishmen whose affairs carried them to the Low Countries, where he passed most of his life.

Many Italian painters of secondary rank, finding the markets on the banks of the Tiber and Arno overstocked, carried their talents beyond the Alps ; a similar congestion in the Netherlands drove others over the North Sea ; and as soon as the persecution of the reformed religion began in Holland and Flanders, such artists helped to swell the great body of refugees who did so much to build up the greatness of England in science and art. Amongst these fugitives came Lucas d'Heere of Ghent (1534-84), whose work was greatly in favour with Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. Although not a portrait-painter of high rank, d'Heere had a pretty taste for costume and accessories, which doubtless appealed to his Royal patronesses ; and it makes his pictures attractive and interesting to modern eyes. A large imaginary group of Henry VIII and his family, in the collection of Mr. H. Dent Brocklehurst at Sudeley Castle, is a striking instance of his skill and fancy ; but his portrait of Queen Mary I, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House, displays a grasp of character which is rare with him.

The early years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth witnessed the birth of a new form of portraiture in England ; the art, namely, of engraving on plates, which were frequently taken from sketches from life made for the purpose. To this art, imported, like much that we have already mentioned, from Flanders, we are indebted for the several important and authentic representations of Queen Elizabeth as a young woman by Thomas Geminus, Franciscus (fl. 1558-88), and Remigius (fl. 1572-87) Hogenburg, and the whole-length of her in old age by William Rogers (fl. 1589-1604) ; this is the first portrait engraving ever signed by an Englishman, and is perhaps the most impressive and indeed awe-inspiring effigy of the great Queen that has come down to us.

Queen Elizabeth held very definite views as to the form in which

she desired her features to be handed down to posterity; a proclamation, well known from frequent quotation, was drafted forbidding the circulation of any such representation of the Royal person as had not received official sanction. Evelyn declares in his *Sculptura* that it was actually put into force, and that in one instance so vast a quantity of 'vile copies, multiplied from an ill painting' was confiscated, that the prints being 'brought to Essex House did for several years furnish the Pastry-men with peels for the use of their Ovens'. Restrictions of this sort were successful in influencing all the works of painters occupied in executing portraits about the Court, then the principal if not the only sphere of employment for an artist. An inimitable description of the portraits of the Virgin Queen is given by Horace Walpole. 'The profusion of ornaments with which they are loaded are marks of her continual fondness for dress while they entirely exclude all grace, and leave no more room for a painter's genius than if he had been employed to copy an Indian idol, totally composed of hands and necklaces. A pale Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls are the features by which everybody knows at once the pictures of Queen Elizabeth.'

So stereotyped did Court portraiture become that it is sometimes difficult to identify with any certainty the subject of the picture; very often, indeed, portraits of ladies of rank answering more or less to Walpole's description, and to the general idea of what a portrait of Queen Elizabeth ought to look like, have been given her name without further inquiry. Too little, also, is known of the painters of these pictures; it is easy to divide them roughly into groups and isolate the works of one man, but to give that man a name is, in the present state of our knowledge, hazardous in the extreme.

Very many of the portraits of the Queen and her courtiers have been ascribed to Federigo Zuccaro (1543-1616), a Florentine painter of the mannerist school which flourished in the period immediately succeeding the golden age of Raphael and Michelangelo. He certainly paid a visit to England, and an interesting sketch for a whole-length portrait of Queen Elizabeth, well known from the engraving in Rogers's *Imitations of Drawings*, may very possibly be his work. It is quite certain that he could not have painted during his visit to this country, which was of brief duration, one half of the pictures attributed to him; of late years it has become the custom to reject, mainly on grounds of style, practically every attribution of an English portrait to his hand. Yet it must always be remembered that the portrait-painters of the mannerist school—witness Bronzino, the greatest of them—were not averse to adopting a hard dry manner on occasion, and that from all that we know of Zuccaro, it seems highly probable that he was quite as capable of modifying his style to suit his Northern patrons as Torrigiano had been a generation before.

We are on firmer ground when we approach the works of Marcus Geeraerts, father and son, two painters whose works and influence meet the student of Elizabethan and Jacobean portraiture at every turn. The father was already a well-known artist when he was forced by Alva's persecution, in 1568, to fly from Bruges and take refuge in London. The son, who showed consideration for the curiosity of posterity by signing many of his pictures, was within certain limits an artist of considerable accomplishment. The heads of his portraits are accurately if rather drily drawn and give evidence of an appreciation of the characters of the sitters which might have had wider play had Geeraerts allowed himself greater depth of tone in his shadows. This almost complete absence of light and shade is said to have originated in a fancy of

the Queen; to her may also be due the taste for a bright, cheerful scheme of colour, in which scarlet and white contrasted with black seem often to predominate, and a thoroughgoing minuteness in the details of costumes and accessories, which often sets tone and aerial perspective at defiance. All these merits and defects are fully displayed in the artist's most ambitious work, the large group, now in the National Portrait Gallery, of the English and Spanish Plenipotentiaries (1604).

The rise of miniature painting and its progress in the hands of foreign practitioners have already been spoken of. The reign of Queen Elizabeth witnessed a great development in this branch of art at the hands of a native master, Nicholas Hilliard (1537-1619). As an artist Hilliard cannot, of course, be compared with Holbein; his style is stiff and archaic; but the number of portraits of remarkable personages that he executed, even when we have withdrawn from consideration a large proportion of them which are doubtfully or erroneously named, gives his work high importance to the student of history. The career of Hilliard's pupil, Isaac Oliver (1556-1617), really belongs to the following reign, but some of his work, notably the famous miniature of Sir Philip Sidney in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle, reproduced in the following pages, may fairly be classed as Elizabethan.

As has been already noted, it was during the Tudor period that the coin-types begin to acquire a distinct iconographic value; indeed a well-known proof-piece in the British Museum, with a portrait of Elizabeth in old age, was so unpalatably realistic to her Majesty that she attempted to deface it with her scissors, the marks of which it still bears. Medals were occasionally struck throughout the period; but with the exception of a few, such as Jacopo da Trezzo's medals of Queen Mary, they are rarely of high interest as portraits. The cameos with Regal portraits, particularly abundant in the case

of Queen Elizabeth, are equally from this point of view without value ; little is known about their authorship.

The Royal and other monumental effigies up to the time of Henry VII have already been mentioned. None of the three succeeding sovereigns is commemorated by tomb-sculptures ; and there is generally noticeable, in the Reformation period, a falling off in the quantity and quality of the sepulchral memorials, which is perhaps little surprising. The Elizabethan era witnessed a revival in this respect. The Queen's own effigy in Westminster Abbey, made by Maximilian Poutrain, *alias* Colt (fl. 1600-18), a Flemish refugee, is a very striking naturalistic work. It is recumbent, as is that of Mary Queen of Scots, in the other aisle of Henry the Seventh's Chapel. The funereal monuments of this period very frequently, however, take the form of kneeling figures or half-length statues. *Naïve* and stiff in manner, their uncouth and startling effect increased by gaudy colouring, these figures have an undeniable air of truthfulness, owing doubtless in many instances to the fact that they were based upon casts taken after death from the features of those whom they commemorate. A great debt of gratitude is due to the sculptors of these memorials, one of whom has bequeathed to us by far the more vivid of the two unassailably authentic portraits of Shakespeare.

In examining the paintings of the Tudor period it is necessary to bear in mind the purposes that they were originally intended to serve and the technical restrictions imposed upon the artists who executed them. Although portraits doubtless sometimes formed part of the painted decoration of the walls of buildings—for example, the great group of Henry VIII with his Queen, Jane Seymour, and his father and mother, one of the most important works of Holbein's English period, was painted on a wall in the old Palace of Whitehall—the pictures which have come down to us are, almost without exception, of a portable character. These 'tables', as they are called,

are painted on wooden—usually oaken—panels; the use of canvas, an Italian invention, was not introduced until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Difficulties in the preparation of large panels, and their unwieldy weight when constructed, restricted the generality of pictures to small dimensions. Such vast panels as those used by Holbein for his ‘Ambassadors’ and ‘Henry VIII granting a Charter to the Barber-Surgeons’ Company’ are rarely to be found; even life-sized, whole-length portraits are not common before the introduction of canvas.

From an artistic point of view nearly all the paintings reproduced in the present volume are what may be called Primitive; that is to say, they belong to an epoch and style in which a quasi-deceptive appearance of roundness, depth of tone and aerial perspective was not regarded, as it has been in more modern times, as a principal object of attainment. Holbein himself used leaf-gold to represent metal, and all the painters of the period freely introduced coats of arms, emblems, and inscriptions floating, as it were, in mid-air, and having no tonal relation to the rest of the picture, being employed, in fact, simply to enhance the decorative effect.

In the eighteenth century when the race of *dilettanti* believed, or affected to believe, that the grand style of art could only find expression in historical and subject pictures, the taste for portraiture, deeply rooted in the English character, was sometimes satirized as a childish if not vulgar form of personal vanity. The history of the art proves, however, that this lively interest in the appearance of our forefathers and contemporaries really amounts to a national characteristic. As a result of this there exists in the British Islands a profusion of historical monuments of this class rivalled by no other country in the world. The National Portrait Gallery in London, and the similar but less extensive galleries in Edinburgh and Dublin, are, considered as a whole, without parallel in the other capitals

of Europe. The accessory collection of engraved portraits in the Department of Prints and Drawings at the British Museum is the most numerous in existence. Many corporate bodies, particularly the Universities and Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, possess large and interesting collections, supplemented in the case of Oxford by a collection of engravings (the Hope Collection) but little inferior to that of the British Museum. Especial interest attaches to some of the galleries of what may be called official family portraits in the possession of episcopal sees and learned societies ; the series belonging to the Archbishopric of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, to the Royal Society at Burlington House and to the College of Physicians, are noteworthy instances. At the head of the legion of ancestral collections comes, very properly, that belonging to the Crown ; to realize the matchless quality of this, it is only necessary to reflect that Windsor Castle contains the Holbein drawings, the treasures of the Vandyck room, the great canvases of Lawrence in the Waterloo Gallery, the miniatures—Royal accumulations of three hundred years—and a priceless series of Tudor and Stuart portraits, which finds its complement scattered through the state apartments at Hampton Court. This latter palace possesses also the beauties of the Court of Charles II painted by Lely, and those of the Court of William III by Kneller. Buckingham Palace has its share as well as Windsor of the masterpieces of Reynolds and Gainsborough and the portraits of the Victorian era, which only need time to set them as far beyond price, as portraits, as the rest. It would be invidious to single out the greater of the great mansions of the nobility on account of their riches in this particular. Knole, Hardwick, Woburn, Wilton, Althorp and Welbeck, where the assemblage of family portraits is supplemented by a magnificent series of miniatures, may be named without nearly exhausting the list of collections of the first rank ; while at Montagu House the

miniatures belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, mainly collected during the nineteenth century, rival in number and quality even those at Windsor itself.

The public has been made familiar with all that is most interesting in these collections through various loan exhibitions. The first of these, consisting of miniatures alone, above three thousand in number, was held in the South Kensington Museum in 1865. This was followed by the three Exhibitions of National Portraits arranged in the Exhibition Buildings at South Kensington in 1866 and the two consecutive years. The first consisted of more than a thousand portraits earlier than the Revolution of 1688; the second of nearly nine hundred dating between the accession of William III and 1800; and the third of nine hundred and fifty portraits of the period 1800-67. A second series of exhibitions was held at the New Gallery, beginning with that of the Royal House of Stuart, in 1889, and followed by others illustrating the Tudor and Hanoverian dynasties and the reign of Queen Victoria, in the three following years. A further exhibition of portraits of the Monarchs of Great Britain and Ireland was held at the same gallery in honour of the Accession of his present Majesty in 1901. The Winter Exhibitions of the Royal Academy during the last thirty-nine years have afforded on various occasions especial opportunities for students of portraiture. In 1884 and 1885 the University and Colleges of Cambridge collected their portraits together for temporary exhibition; Oxford followed their example in 1904, 1905 and 1906. The catalogues of all these exhibitions are mines to be worked by all students of this aspect of English History. In some instances catalogues with illustrations were issued. A great illustrated catalogue of the National Portrait Gallery, in which every portrait is figured, was published in 1901-2. A magnificently illustrated volume by Mr. Sidney Colvin on *Early English Engravings* was published by

the Trustees of the British Museum in 1905; and the present year has seen the issue by the same body of the first volume of the *Catalogue of British Engraved Portraits* by Mr. F. M. O'Donoghue. The identification of the subject of a miniature frequently needs, for reasons which have already been noticed in these pages, judicious scrutiny; but making allowance for this, much of high iconographic value will be found in two handsome works dedicated to this branch of art: *Miniature Painters, British and Foreign*, by Mr. J. J. Foster, 1903, and the *History of Portrait Miniatures* by Mr. G. C. Williamson, 1904. The coinage types are very fully illustrated in Mr. H. A. Grueber's *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1899. For the sepulchral statues of the mediaeval period no representations superseding the exquisite etchings in C. A. Stothard's *Monumental Effigies of Great Britain*, 1817, and the continuation by T. and G. Hollis, 1840-2, have yet appeared. The titles of other works bearing on the subject might be quoted, but enough have been named to show those whose interest is excited by the present volume how ample a field exists for widening their knowledge of English Historical Portraits.

RICHARD II

(1367-1400)

eldest surviving son of the Black Prince and Joan of Kent, was born at Bordeaux, became heir to the Crown on his father's death in June 1376, and, on the death of his grandfather Edward III a year later, king, at the age of ten and a half years. No regular regency was established at his accession ; but Parliament nominated a Council and assumed a general control over it. In this Council John of Gaunt, the eldest surviving son of King Edward, had little power. In 1381 Richard, aged fourteen and a half, showed splendid courage and craft in facing and subduing in London the worst insurrection of the lower classes that ever threatened society in England. In the next year he was married to his first wife, Anne of Bohemia. His uncles, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Thomas, whom he created Duke of Gloucester, as well as the Earls of Warwick, Arundel, Nottingham and Derby, were 'over mighty subjects', constantly dangerous to the Crown. Richard seems early to have taken refuge in the society of what these men called 'favourites'; such were Michael de la Pole and Robert de Vere and several of his father's old companions in arms. Accordingly in the Parliament of 1386 the Opposition demanded a commission of 'reform', which was to govern the kingdom for a year, and, after some long resistance, the King was obliged to give way. Such of the favourites as the Opposition was able to catch were put to death (1388). Richard professed to acquiesce, but he was only biding his time for vengeance. This did not come until in 1396 he had married his second wife, Isabel of France, and concluded a long truce with the French

crown. In the next year he contrived to arrest Gloucester and Arundel, always his secret enemies; then, overawing a Parliament by the presence of a strong armed levy, he got the Acts of 1386 and 1387 repealed, condemned Arundel, Gloucester and Warwick to death, banished Archbishop Arundel and acquitted Derby and Nottingham, whom he soon afterwards advanced to dukedoms. A fresh Parliament in the next year at Shrewsbury gave the King the customs for life, and he afterwards interpolated into the Act clauses still more favourable to the royal authority. Meanwhile the two remaining leaders of 1387, now Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, could not but feel uneasy. Each suspected the other of maligning him to the King; they quarrelled and challenged each other to a duel. The King stopped the duel when the combatants were already in the lists, and banished them both. To Hereford, however, he expressly promised the estates of his father, John of Gaunt, if that prince should die during his son's exile. John died in 1399 and Richard violated his promise by confiscating the Lancastrian estates. Duke Henry returned from France and landed in Yorkshire, professing to claim only his father's title and property: but Richard's government had been so unpopular that Henry was eventually able to go on to claim the Crown itself. Richard was in Ireland when Henry landed, and Henry, though as yet acting only as Duke of Lancaster, was practically master of the kingdom before his rival's return (July 1399). They met at Flint; Richard's own army had already melted away or deserted him there, and he was at once treated as a captive. He is said to have offered to resign the Crown there and then: but the actual resignation did not take place till he had been taken in Henry's train to London, where he was sent to the Tower. A committee nominated by a Parliament, which Henry had called in Richard's name, received his resignation. After confinement in various places Richard seems either to have been starved or to have starved himself to death at Pontefract Castle in 1400, in his thirty-fourth year. Numerous traditions that he was alive and had escaped to Scotland



RICHARD II

From the contemporary picture in Westminster Abbey

or elsewhere were handed down, but none of them are capable of proof.

Richard's character has been a standing puzzle to historians, for it was evidently full of self-contradictory traits. The high-spirited boy who, alone of English sovereigns before George III, was ever called upon to confront a dangerous mob, and who emerged so triumphantly from that ordeal, ended as a melancholy, perhaps an insane captive. Fierce, impulsive and affectionate at some periods of his life, he was crafty and secret at others, yet with occasional fits of dreaminess. He had evidently a very high idea of royal prerogative and a great contempt for Parliament and for his nobles. He was able to show much interest in letters and in art, though we do not know whether he was himself at all learned. He was prudent enough to make peace with France, which no doubt added to his unpopularity, and to undertake on two occasions, though without success, the long neglected task of restoring peace to Ireland. He was a man of great stature and great personal beauty.

HENRY IV

(1367-1413)

eldest surviving son of John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster, was born at Bolingbroke in Lincolnshire, became Earl of Derby in 1377, married Mary Bohun, coheiress of the Earldom of Hereford, in 1380 and became in 1387-8 one of the five leaders of the opposition to the government of Richard II, but in 1389 rallied to the Crown. In 1390 and 1392 he went, with a considerable following, upon two so-called 'crusades' to the Eastern Baltic, on pretext of aiding the Teutonic Knights against the Lithuanians, who had recently accepted Christianity, and, on the conclusion of the second of these expeditions, he crossed Germany to Venice and thence paid a flying visit to Jerusalem, being thus the only English King before Edward VII who saw the Holy Sepulchre. From his return to England in 1393 he took until 1397 little part in politics, but what influence he had was used upon the side of the Crown and against his own friends of ten years before. He was created Duke of Hereford in 1397: in this capacity he had an open quarrel with Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, whom he accused of treasonable designs. The quarrel was to be decided by combat in the King's presence at Coventry in September 1388; King Richard stopped the combat when the duellists were already in the lists and banished both of them, although professing to Hereford great regret at doing so. Henry went to Paris and waited his opportunity of revenge. This opportunity came at the death of his father, John of Gaunt, in February 1399, for Richard, who had promised the exile that his paternal estates should be secured to him, now confiscated



HENRY IV

From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

the whole of the Lancastrian inheritance. Henry, whose whole life in England had been devoted, in accordance with the traditions of his house, to a quiet but steady conciliation of popular favour, was no doubt well informed of the growing unpopularity of Richard; he therefore took advantage of Richard's absence in Ireland to land in Yorkshire with a few followers, professing to claim only his paternal inheritance of Lancaster. But, as he advanced south-westwards, he was received with such acclamations and joined by such powerful men, notably the Percys of Northumberland, that he was able to take a sharp vengeance on the unpopular ministers of Richard, many of whom he beheaded, and to advance in overwhelming force to meet the King on his return from Ireland. Richard submitted tamely, and Henry issued writs, still in Richard's name, for a Parliament in London. At this Parliament, September 1399, Henry claimed the Crown, which Richard resigned, and was joyfully accepted as King by both Houses. The popularity of the House of Lancaster veiled the essential illegality of the business. A month later Richard was condemned to perpetual imprisonment and was never seen again; a rising of his friends in the next year was easily put down, and it is supposed that this led to Richard's murder at Pontefract.

Henry's reign, however, was never for a moment quiet, and treason always dogged the steps of the King who had usurped the throne. His enemies constantly tried to poison or assassinate him; France and Scotland were both hostile: even Wales was able to lift its head in little spurts of rebellion. Pseudo-Richards began to appear in various parts of England, and their appearance was always the signal for revolts. The state of society, which had been unquiet for a quarter of a century, went from bad to worse during Henry's reign. The King was constantly on the move endeavouring to repress sedition and riots, and was generally successful in doing so for the time; but, directly he had passed by, they broke out again behind him. Thus his own friends the

Percys revolted, joined the Welsh and raised the flag of the Mortimers (1403); they were beaten in a pitched battle at Shrewsbury: in 1405 it was Mowbrays, Scropes, Percies who were up again, and Henry was actually obliged to behead the Archbishop of York: again in 1408 a similar rebellion in the North had to be put down. In his last years, 1410-13, the Prince of Wales seems to have given him trouble. Henry died in March 1413, broken down by ill health and hard work at the age of forty-six. Probably his character changed to some extent for the better after his accession. He never lost his popularity with the House of Commons, to which he constantly made valuable concessions of a 'constitutional' nature; nor, in spite of his execution of an archbishop, with the Church, to which he and his Parliament gave the long-desired privilege of burning heretics alive; nor with the citizens of London, whom he always ostentatiously courted. From 1404 his health seems to have been uniformly bad. By his first wife, Mary Bohun, he had four sons, Henry V, Thomas, Duke of Clarence, John, Duke of Bedford, and Humphry, Duke of Gloucester. By his second wife (Joan, widowed Duchess of Brittany) he had no children.

HENRY V

(1387-1422)

eldest son of Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards King Henry IV, and Mary Bohun, was probably born at Monmouth. He was educated by his uncle Henry, afterwards Cardinal Beaufort, and was possibly for a time at Queen's College, Oxford. He was with Richard II in Ireland at the date of his father's usurpation of the throne, and seems to have been treated with kindness by that King, whose body he removed, at the beginning of his own reign, to Westminster Abbey. During his father's reign, Henry was employed upon several warlike expeditions both to Wales and to Scotland, and in particular he fought bravely at the battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. But his close friendship with the Beaufort family, whose dictation the King dreaded, led him in 1410 into a breach with his father and possibly into an attempt to compel the latter to abdicate; this led to his exclusion from the Council. There is no reason to question the received tradition that Prince Henry was a 'wild' young man, but when, on his father's death, he ascended the throne as Henry V, it is quite evident that he became at once a most sober and businesslike King. He also became a most devout and bigoted Churchman, and continued to persecute the Lollards with the greatest vigour. The revival of the absurd and wicked claim of the English Kings to the crown of France was also his work, and he set about prosecuting that claim with all his might. His first expedition to France landed at the mouth of the Seine in 1415; Henry captured Harfleur and then undertook, with rapidly dwindling forces, the dangerous overland

march to Calais, in the course of which he won, by superior tactics, the great battle of Agincourt (Oct. 25) against enormous odds. He then returned in triumph to England, and received in the following year a visit from the Emperor Sigismund, who consulted with him as to a projected 'reform' of the Church. No peace, however, had been made with France, and no real conquests achieved except the capture of Harfleur, and in 1417 Henry sailed again to France with a very large army and spent two years in a steady and merciless reduction of the various cities and fortresses of Normandy. Only the frightful internal dissensions between the French princes and the insanity of King Charles VI permitted him this hard-won and temporary success; and his cruelties at Rouen, which only capitulated after a long and heroic defence, hardened all French hearts against him. In 1419 the murder of the Duke of Burgundy by the Dauphin and the partisans of the rival House of Orleans threw on to the English side the powerful Burgundian family, which ruled in the Low Countries and had great influence over all the north of France. At last in 1420 the poor King of France gave up the struggle and concluded at Troyes a peace, by which he recognized Henry as Regent and heir of France and gave him his daughter Katharine to wife. Early in 1421 Henry and Katharine landed at Dover, and in June Henry had to return to his sorry task of holding down his prospective kingdom of France by the sword. His last act was the capture of Meaux, during the siege of which he became seriously ill. He died at Vincennes on August 31, 1422, in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

It is before all things as a conqueror that Henry V is pre-eminent. That he really believed his claim to the French crown to be founded in justice seems, in the case of such an intelligent man, to be impossible; but it suited him to say that he believed it. In the prosecution of this claim he spared no pains and intended to make his conquests permanent. He covered the whole of this



HENRY V

From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

ambitious policy with a mantle of religion, which may have been fanaticism or may have been hypocrisy, but which, at any rate, was an essential part of the popular and plausible Lancastrian character. He always said that he intended to unite the crowns of the two great Western nations with a view to a crusade for the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre ; he was a considerable reader of religious and crusading literature, and he took a keen interest in the healing of the schism then existing in the Western Church. Such a character, backed up by a firm hand in domestic administration, made Henry not only a successful and popular ruler at home, but also to some extent a national hero to after generations. Of his ability on the battle-field and especially in siege-craft there can be no doubt ; but his legacy to his country was a reopening of the terrible French war, and this again bequeathed to the England of his son's reign the *damnosa hereditas* of the Wars of the Roses.

HENRY BEAUFORT

(*d.* 1447)

Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester, son of John of Gaunt and Katharine Swynford, was born out of wedlock, but, with his two brothers, legitimated by Act of Parliament in the reign of Richard II. He was educated at Aachen, and became a good canonist and civilian; but it is mainly as a great ecclesiastical statesman that he is famous. When his half-brother, Henry IV, ascended the throne, his career as a devoted supporter of the House of Lancaster began; and, if one may use such an expression, he came at the end of his life to be practically the 'trustee' of the fortunes of that house. In 1403 he became Chancellor, and in the next year Bishop of Winchester, attached himself particularly to Henry, Prince of Wales, and went out of office when that young man quarrelled with his father in 1411. On the Prince's accession, as Henry V, Beaufort was restored to the Chancellorship, but resigned it in 1417, in order to attend the Council of Constance, where he cast his weight into the scale of the Pope as against the Reformers. Probably he now hoped for the Papal tiara for himself, but he was disappointed, and his King even forbade him to accept the cardinal's hat which Pope Martin V pressed upon him. On the accession of the infant Henry VI, his godson, the Bishop at once became one of the leading members of the Council, and also at once found himself in open opposition to the King's youngest uncle, Humphry, Duke of Gloucester: he was again Chancellor for a short time, but his real office, then and always, was that of moneylender-in-chief to the crown of England. It is a standing puzzle whence Beaufort could have drawn



CARDINAL BEAUFORT

From an engraving of his tomb in Winchester Cathedral
(From *Vetusta Monumenta*)

the enormous sums of money which for over thirty years he was continually lending to the Crown ; and the only intelligible solution is that 'he thoroughly understood how to deal with money'—in other words, was an accomplished and successful usurer. The quarrels between Beaufort and Gloucester, which only ended with their deaths within a few weeks of each other in 1447, are wearisome to trace in detail, and are mainly of interest for their after effects ; for they led to the formation at the court of Henry VI of the 'peace party' and the 'war party', which a little later became the Lancastrian and the Yorkist parties. From the year 1435 at least Beaufort steadily laboured to bring about a peace with France, and thereby increased his unpopularity, which was already great on account of his reputation as an avaricious Churchman of un-English views, who had accepted in 1426 the cardinal's hat which Henry V had compelled him to refuse. In the fifteenth century no cardinal or legate (and Beaufort was now both) could ever meet with fair play in England, and, although we cannot specifically point to any occasion on which Cardinal Henry sacrificed the interests of his country to those of the Church, we must admit that he had frequently to seek occasions of clearing himself in Parliament against accusations that he had sacrificed them. Gloucester, on the other hand, was a vain and foolish fellow, who courted and enjoyed the worst kind of popularity, that with the London mob ; and the result was that, when Gloucester died suddenly and somewhat mysteriously in February 1447, the voice of ill fame at once accused the Cardinal of having had a hand in his death, a rumour which in spite of Shakespeare's authority (*Henry VI, Part II*, III. iii) is quite without foundation. Henry Beaufort died in April of that year, and the Wars of the Roses were as good as begun.

HENRY VI

(1421-1471)

only child of Henry V and Katharine of France, was born at Windsor and became King of England, at his father's death, when he was only nine months old. The Council assumed the regency, but, as the King's elder uncle, John, Duke of Bedford, was usually fighting in France, his younger uncle, Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, was practically allowed to act as Protector. Two months after his accession to the English crown, Henry became, so far as the Treaty of Troyes could make him so, King of France also, and he was the only English King ever crowned in France with that title. His uncles, Henry, Cardinal Beaufort, and the Gloucester above mentioned, both imbued him with a love of learning which remained his consolation during his long and miserable reign. His first tutor in martial exercises was Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who perhaps ill-treated him and gave him a disgust for such matters; for he seems to have been a tender and delicate boy. He was crowned at Westminster in 1429 and at Paris in 1430. But, with the appearance of Joan of Arc in 1429, the French possessions began to slip from the English grasp, and the disappointed Lancastrian princes thereupon began to quarrel among themselves at home. Henry was continually obliged to make peace between his uncles, and the death of the Duke of Bedford, the ablest and perhaps the best of them, in 1435, was a severe loss to his nephew. Beaufort and Gloucester were perpetually quarrelling, and their quarrels disgusted the pious and unworldly boy, who, at the age of eighteen, turned to the solid work of his life, the establishment of his great foundations for learn-



HENRY VI

From the portrait at Eton College

ing at Eton and Cambridge. These he pursued with a resoluteness, an attention and an insight which are worthy of all praise, and which entirely dispose of all stories to the effect that he was of weak intellect. The only other matter in which the King showed any interest was the possibility of a peace with France, and this, which really redounded so much to his honour, was the very thing that made his contemporaries despise him. A marriage with a French princess (several were suggested) would probably form an important part of any treaty, and at last Henry obtained a step towards such a treaty by consenting to marry Margaret of Anjou in 1445; the French King, Charles VII, who was rapidly reconquering his northern provinces, took no notice of the match, but was not ill pleased at it; and soon after its arrangement he concluded a truce for two years. But every disappointed English plunderer of France, noble and yeoman alike, exclaimed against it and against Henry's friend, the Duke of Suffolk, who had arranged it. Margaret was hated as an 'outlandish woman', whose marriage had been bought with surrenders; and her stern and vindictive character did nothing to conciliate opposition. For gentle Henry she was no fit mate, and the French peace when it at last came (1453) was merely the prelude to civil war in England. Gloucester from the first voiced the popular cry for a continuance of the war at all costs, and when he died in February 1447, Beaufort, Suffolk, Margaret and even Henry himself were freely accused of murdering him. Beaufort followed Gloucester to the grave a few weeks later. Normandy was rapidly lost in 1449; Suffolk was in consequence impeached in Parliament, and, though never convicted, was murdered by Henry's enemies. A popular insurrection in the following year shook the throne badly, and in 1450 Henry's great rival, Richard, Duke of York, great-grandson of Edward III, appeared upon the scene. At what date York determined to play for his own hand is uncertain; perhaps he was mainly a tool of the ambitious and discontented nobles. At first he professed merely a desire to exclude 'evil counsellors'—chiefly the Beaufort

family—from the King's presence: Henry would probably have submitted to this or to anything but for his ambitious wife. But Margaret could act with vigour: now she would pack a Parliament which would attain York and his partisans; now she would call, and not in vain, on her supporters to take the field in arms. The final loss in 1453 of Guienne, the last of our French possessions except Calais, did not mend matters: the country was full of disbanded soldiers and ripe for civil war. Twice during the decade 1450-60 Henry was overcome by a grievous illness both of mind and body (July 1453—Jan. 1454; Oct. 1455—Feb. 1456). During the former of these illnesses his only child, Prince Edward of Lancaster, was born, and during each of them York acted as Protector. In one of the early battles (St. Albans), in May 1455, the gentle King was wounded in the neck by an arrow. At last, in 1460, York formally claimed the throne; though he agreed to allow Henry to retain for life the title of King, the young Lancastrian prince was to be excluded. Margaret would never tolerate this for a moment and would fight to the last: but, on York's death at Wakefield, his soldier son acted with vigour, seized the throne as King Edward IV, and drove Henry and Margaret northwards, defeating their troops at Towton. Henry was thenceforth for three years, 1461-4, a wanderer on the Scottish border or a dependant on the charity of the Scottish King: when, in 1464, his partisans in the north of England again rose for him and were speedily defeated, he lurked in disguise in various old houses in Lancashire or Westmoreland, and was finally captured in Ribblesdale in 1465. He was brought to London a prisoner in bonds, and was hooted by the mob. He was sent to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for five years; various stories are told of his treatment, which under such a man as Edward IV is not likely to have been good: but friend and foe alike agree as to his patience and gentleness in suffering. When the Yorkists in their turn began to quarrel among themselves and the Earl of Warwick drove out Edward IV (Oct. 1470), Henry was again taken from the Tower and treated

as King. It was a very brief 'Restoration' ; and, after the defeats of Warwick and Margaret by the returned Edward at Barnet and Tewkesbury, Henry was murdered in the Tower, May 21, 1471. Tradition has always pointed to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard III, as the actual murderer ; and history has done nothing to upset this tradition. Henry was buried at Chertsey Abbey until his murderer sought to conciliate public opinion by removing his body to Windsor. Popular affection, in the North especially, had already canonized the deceased King : miracles were reported of him ; hymns and prayers addressed to him still exist. Henry VII, seeing what a valuable addition to Lancastrian power it would be to have his predecessor regularly enrolled as a saint, took soundings at Rome on the subject ; but canonization was an expensive process in the Rome of the Renaissance, and Henry VII was too fond of money to carry it through.

Few characters have, however, so profoundly left their mark upon English imagination ; and it is to the credit of Englishmen that they could worship the purity, the meekness and the devotion of the 'murdered saint', as well as the force and virility of the 'majestic Lord who broke the bonds of Rome'. If Henry VI was wholly out of touch with his own age, it was perhaps because some divine insight, the result of his saintly life, enabled him to see through the bloodshed and sordid horrors of the immediate future, and to devote his energies to the provision of education for generations of Englishmen yet to come.

RICHARD NEVILLE

EARL OF WARWICK

(1428-1471)

eldest son of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, is commonly known as the King-maker. His Earldom of Warwick came from his marriage with the daughter of the last of the Beauchamp family who held that title, and was at that time the richest and most powerful Earldom in England. His greatest castles were Warwick, Cardiff, Abergavenny and Barnard. He and his father, who lived until 1460, became the greatest supporters of the Yorkist cause against Margaret of Anjou and the Beauforts, who swayed the mind of the unworldly Henry VI. In this capacity Warwick won for the Yorkists the first battle of the civil wars, at St. Albans, in 1455. After this victory poor Henry was obliged to make his enemy 'Captain of Calais', a position which gave him command of the only really standing force in the English dominions. It also gave him command of a considerable fleet, with which, in 1458-9, he did good service against Spanish fleets in the Channel. In the same year Warwick joined the Duke of York in the West of England, was defeated with him by the Lancastrians at Ludford and fled back to Calais by way of Guernsey; thence in 1460 to Ireland, and thence again to Calais. In the summer of that year he was back in England and helped to win for the Yorkists the battle of Northampton. While York and Warwick's father, Salisbury, went northwards to meet the forces which Queen Margaret had raised in Scotland and Yorkshire, Warwick remained in London in charge of Henry, whom he still professed to regard as King. His father's death at the battle



RICHARD NEVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK

From the seal in the British Museum found on the
site of the Battle of Barnet

of Wakefield left him head of the Neville family, and added to his castles the great Yorkshire strongholds of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton ; while York's death, though it left the nominal headship of the party to the young Earl of March, gave Warwick undisputed command of the policy of that party. In February 1461 he marched out, with poor Henry in his train, to meet the great Lancastrian army at St. Albans, was beaten by it, and fled to join March, who in the West had won the battle of Mortimer's Cross. Edward IV, as March now claimed to be, entered London as a victor with Warwick as his ' King-maker ' by his side. It was not, however, Warwick but Edward himself whose generalship was responsible for the final Yorkist victory at Towton on Palm Sunday, 1461. Edward rewarded his great subject with the wardenships of the Cinque Ports and of the Scottish Marches and the office of Chamberlain ; and Warwick's riches must have been enormous. He seems to have had some skill in diplomacy, and, for the first few years of the reign, Edward left most things in his hands. But Warwick was anxious that the King should marry either one of his own daughters or a French princess chosen by himself ; wherefore Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Woodville, and still more the favours which he showered on her relations, soon roused the jealousy of the Earl, who, by the year 1468, seems to have determined to upset Edward's throne by some means or another ; but, as too deep a stream of blood which he had spilt seemed to run between him and the Lancastrians, he turned to Edward's second brother, Clarence, married him to his daughter, and raised an insurrection which he allowed Clarence to think would ultimately put him upon the throne. Edward, a lazy man, was caught napping and allowed Warwick to take him prisoner : but then Warwick altogether belied his reputation for craft and reconciled himself to Edward, who, as soon as he was free, drove him from the kingdom. There was now but one thing for the Earl to do ; he must throw himself at the feet of the haughty Queen Margaret, whom he had slandered and vilified in every possible way, and by her agency

18 RICHARD NEVILLE, EARL OF WARWICK

raise the flag of King Henry. Louis XI, Warwick's steady friend, was able to mediate this astonishing alliance. The Nevilles rose for Warwick and the Western Lancastrians for Henry. Edward was driven from his kingdom to the Burgundian Court, and the King-maker landed in England and 'remade' in October 1470, as he had previously unmade, Henry VI King of England. But Margaret delayed her return; Clarence, nominally Warwick's ally, was discontented because Warwick had married his elder daughter to Prince Edward of Lancaster; the restored government was profoundly unpopular in London; and, in March 1471, King Edward returned, caught Warwick in a trap at Barnet and slew him, and then advanced to meet and destroy the true Lancastrian army at Tewkesbury.

Warwick, in spite of his great reputation, was merely a selfish baron of the worst type of the bastard-feudal age of the fifteenth century. His enormous riches bought him a following, which he was able to reward from the goods and lands of his enemies.

EDWARD IV

(1442-1483)

eldest son of Richard, Duke of York, and Cecily Neville, was born at Rouen, and shared, from 1455, in his father's vicissitudes at the commencement of the Wars of the Roses: we find him now in the neighbourhood of St. Albans, now at Ludlow, now an exile in Ireland, Guernsey, Calais. His first title was Earl of March, and it was by that title that he was attainted by a Lancastrian Parliament in 1459. From Calais in 1460 he came to England, and helped the Yorkists to win the battle of Northampton. When his father was defeated and slain at Wakefield he resolved on claiming the Crown for himself, defeated the Western Lancastrians at Mortimer's Cross (Feb. 1461), pushed on to London, where he was received as King, and then, without waiting to be crowned, hurried northwards and annihilated Queen Margaret's great Northern army at the battle of Towton. This left him in secure possession of all England but a few Northern castles which were gradually taken. Fresh risings of Lancastrians were easily defeated in 1464, and in the next year the captive Henry VI was sent to the Tower. But Edward, though owing his victories in the field wholly to his own excellent grasp of strategy and tactics, had really owed his throne to the support of the powerful family of Neville, with which he soon managed to quarrel. Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the head of this family, expected Edward to be guided by his counsels in the matter of his marriage as in everything else. But Edward fell in love with Elizabeth Woodville, widow of Sir John Grey, and married her secretly. When the marriage had to be declared Warwick chose to

be offended, and he was still more offended by Edward's zeal for a Burgundian as opposed to a French alliance. He thereupon determined to upset his puppet King, and the first tool of which he made use was Edward's vain and foolish brother, Clarence (1469). Edward, who, in spite of his military talents, was slow to take the field in person, was captured and imprisoned; yet Warwick hesitated to put Clarence on the throne, and was therefore obliged to release his captive. A fresh treason of Warwick opened the King's somewhat sleepy eyes, and he defeated Warwick and Clarence at Stamford, 1470. They thereon fled to France, and Warwick at last threw himself into the arms of the Lancastrians; on the news of this other partisans of the Nevilles in England rose in arms and forced Edward to flee to the Low Countries: Warwick returned to England and put Henry VI again upon the throne. But the Duke of Burgundy, who, much as he hated Edward, hated France more, looked upon the Lancastrian Restoration wholly as a French job, and supplied Edward with money for a fresh attempt upon England. Edward landed in Yorkshire and professed at first only to claim his own Duchy of York; but, being gradually better and better received as he marched southwards, soon resolved to claim the Crown again. Warwick was no match for Edward as a general, was defeated and slain at Barnet (April 1471) and three weeks later Queen Margaret and the true Lancastrians were equally annihilated at Tewkesbury. Bloody reprisals followed these victories, as indeed they followed the victories of each side in these horrible wars; among Edward's victims were King Henry VI and his only son, Prince Edward of Lancaster.

The rest of Edward's reign was tranquil. He invaded France with a very large army in 1474, but he early let the King of France understand that he was not very much in earnest, that it was the sort of thing a spirited King of England was expected to do, but that a round sum of money, which the English could call a tribute and the French a pension, would buy his retreat. The wily



EDWARD IV

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

Louis XI agreed to these terms, and even promised to wed his son the Dauphin to Edward's eldest daughter. Edward put his brother Clarence to death in 1478; the motive seems to have been jealousy, whether ill or well founded it is difficult to say. He even managed to quarrel to some extent with his surviving brother, Richard of Gloucester, who had been perfectly loyal to him, before the end of his reign. He died in his forty-first year in 1483.

All that we know of Edward's character is entirely to his discredit: his only ability was that of the soldier, and his laziness, at the times when he should have been most active, decidedly counterbalanced his military talents. He was sensual and immoral to a flagrant extent, and drink and debauchery probably hastened his end. He was also vindictive, suspicious and cruel to a degree remarkable even in that age of blood. He professed some interest in letters, and allowed Caxton to set up a press at Westminster; but his tastes were on the whole low, and he must be regarded as having degraded the Crown as no King had done since Edward II. In person he was for that age a giant, being six feet three inches tall, and was considered, although his portraits belie it, to have been of great personal beauty. It is easy for kings to be thought handsome.

EDWARD V

(1470-1483)

elder son of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, was born in the Sanctuary at Westminster, to which during the brief Lancastrian Restoration of 1470-1 his mother had fled. He was created Prince of Wales after his father's victorious return and the murder of Prince Edward of Lancaster. He seems to have spent his childhood principally at Ludlow, and he was there at the date of his father's death and his own accession in April 1483. There was immediately a struggle for the possession of his person between his mother's relatives, of the Grey and Woodville families, and his paternal uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. This ended in the complete victory of the latter, and the execution of several members of the former clans. Gloucester brought his nephew to London on May 4 and ominously assigned for him the Tower as his residence; he then summoned a Parliament by means of which he hoped to further his designs: whether these were at first merely for the Protectorate or whether they were for the Crown itself, it is impossible to say. But when he had got into his hands the little King's only brother, Richard, Duke of York, and sent him to keep his brother company in the Tower, and when he had cleared the way by executing Lord Hastings, the Duke deferred the Parliament, trumped up a charge of bastardy against the two boys, and, overawing the capital by bodies of his own adherents, proceeded to claim the crown as King Richard III. The two princes were shortly afterwards murdered in the Tower, smothered, it has always been believed, by two assassins in the pay of King Richard. Two skeletons of the stature of boys of thirteen and eleven were discovered at the foot of a staircase in the White Tower in the reign of King Charles II, and this discovery left little doubt of the truth of the story.



his hoke late translatre here in sight
 Of Antony Erie that vertueus knyght
 Lasse it to accepte to youre noble grace
 And at youre comement lesone and space
 It to see wede and vnderstond
 A preacous Iellvett for alle youre lond
 For therein is taughte holbe and in what wise
 Men vertues shoulde be and vices desise
 The Subgette there 2 princes eu' obere
 And ther theim in right defend ar
 Thus to do every man in his dette
 Graunte of his grace the Trinite

EDWARD V

STANDING AT THE LEFT OF EDWARD IV

From the MS. of Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers
at Lambeth Palace

RICHARD III

(1452-1485)

the youngest son of Richard, Duke of York, and Cecily Neville, was born at Fotheringhay and was only nine years old when the crown fell to his eldest brother, Edward IV, who at his coronation created him Duke of Gloucester. During Edward's reign the young prince, in spite of being severely tempted by Warwick and his second brother, Clarence, remained steadily loyal. He probably first saw service in 1469, when Edward was fighting against Clarence and Warwick: he accompanied Edward into exile in 1470 and helped him to recover the Crown in 1471. There is some evidence that he murdered the young Prince Edward of Lancaster at Tewkesbury, and much better evidence that he murdered Henry VI in the Tower—both of these bloody deeds are attributed to him before he was twenty years of age. He married, probably against her will, Anne Neville, the daughter of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, who was already the widow of his reputed victim, Prince Edward; and he soon quarrelled, over the inheritance of the said Earl of Warwick, with his brother Clarence, who had married Anne's sister Isabel. As a vigorous and strenuous man, who had considerable contempt for the sensuality and sloth of his King-brother, Richard protested against the Peace of Pecquigny, by which Edward allowed Louis XI to buy off his invasion of France in 1475. There is no direct proof that he had any hand in Clarence's death in 1478, but all murders would naturally be attributed to a man such as Richard. In 1480 he was sent to the North, and in 1482 invaded Scotland in the interest of King Edward and a Scottish traitor, the Duke of Albany; and his success there seems to have cost him the jealousy of his brother, with whom he was out of favour for the last two years of the reign.

Edward, however, left him guardian of his son Edward V, of whose person he got hold a few days after the boy's accession to the Crown. In conjunction with the Duke of Buckingham, he got rid successively of the leading members of the families of Grey and Woodville (the young King's maternal relatives), of Lord Hastings and of other probable rivals : finally, while the young King and his brother were practically prisoners in the Tower, he trumped up a charge of bastardy against them and claimed the Crown. Some packed assembly of London citizens, overawed by large bodies of retainers from the North, where Richard was always popular, seems to have given some sort of assent to this usurpation, and Richard's reign is dated from June 26 : his coronation and that of his Queen Anne followed ten days later. While on a progress in the Midlands in August he probably gave the order for the murder of the two sons of Edward IV ; and it was probably this murder which alienated from him his best adherent, the Duke of Buckingham. From the day when it was known that the boys were dead Richard's reign was never for a moment quiet. Buckingham, urged on by John Morton, Bishop of Ely, raised the first flag of rebellion on behalf of the exiled heir of the Lancastrian house, Henry, Earl of Richmond, but was caught and beheaded. Richard met his only Parliament in January 1484, and tried, by assuming a popular and 'constitutional' attitude, to bid for favour ; he even induced the widowed Queen of Edward IV and her daughters to come out of sanctuary, and proposed, to the horror of every one, to marry his own niece, Elizabeth, afterwards the Queen of Henry VII ; his own wife, Anne, was then ill, and it was not unnatural that people should say that she was being poisoned, though she did not actually die till March 1485 : his own only son was already dead, and he proclaimed as his heir his sister's son, John, Earl of Lincoln. Meanwhile Henry of Richmond was preparing for an invasion, and Richard moved uneasily about England, uncertain where the landing would take place. Milford Haven was the spot finally



RICHARD III

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

selected, and with strong Welsh reinforcements the Lancastrians advanced to meet Richard; the armies when they finally met at Bosworth in August 1485 were small, but Richard's was completely defeated in spite of his own desperate valour, and the King himself fell in the heat of the battle. The tradition that Richard was humpbacked or in some way deformed is not unlikely to be true, but it rests on no certain evidence and none of his portraits confirm it. As for his character, though ridiculous attempts have been made to whitewash it, martial valour is the only virtue to which he could lay any claim.

HENRY VII

(1457-1509)

son of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and Margaret Beaufort, who was heiress, after 1471, to the Lancastrian claim to the English Crown, was born at Pembroke Castle. He was presented to King Henry VI during the brief Lancastrian Restoration of 1470-1, and, after the return of Edward IV in the latter year, found an asylum in Brittany. Both Edward IV and Richard III made attempts to induce the Duke of Brittany to surrender his guest, and one of these was very nearly successful. When Buckingham rose against Richard III, Henry was already off the English coast preparing to join him, but was unable to land. After this failure Henry repaired to France, where English exiles gathered round him in 1484-5; and on August 1 of the latter year he sailed from Harfleur with about 2,000 men, landed in Wales and defeated and slew Richard III at Bosworth three weeks later. He was well received in London as King Henry VII and was crowned in October; Parliament entailed the Crown on him and the heirs of his body. He had, however, solemnly sworn in France to marry the Princess Elizabeth, now the undoubted heiress of the Yorkist claims, and thus to unite the two rival houses. The marriage took place at the beginning of 1486, but Henry was always careful to maintain that his title to the Crown was independent of his wife's. Two successive pretenders to the throne, each claiming to represent a Plantagenet prince, were easily disposed of—Lambert Simnel at the battle of Stoke in 1487, and Perkin Warbeck, who gave more trouble, by adroit diplomacy with the various European Courts which had successively given him shelter,



HENRY VII

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

in 1497. When the French threatened in 1490 to absorb Brittany, Henry felt it to be a necessary diplomatic move to get up an expedition against France, and actually crossed the Channel and laid siege to Boulogne two years later. But he was able to let King Charles VIII understand that he was quite ready to treat, and they made a treaty at Étapes. When Perkin Warbeck finally left Scotland in 1497, Henry concluded with James IV a truce which soon became a peace, and which was based upon the marriage of his elder daughter, Margaret, to the Scottish King. From 1499 to 1506 a real scion of the Plantagenet house, Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, gave the King some trouble, but Henry at last got the Duke of Burgundy, who had protected Edmund, to surrender him in the latter year. In 1501 he was able to marry his elder son Arthur to Katharine, princess of Spain, and, when Arthur died in the next year, Katharine was betrothed to Arthur's brother Prince Henry, now heir to the English throne; Henry VII's friendship with the crafty Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, was never a cordial one, but the alliance between England and Spain remained fairly durable, and was perhaps the strongest card in the English King's hand.

Two other points besides his adroit diplomacy are specially interesting in Henry's career; he was to a considerable extent a patron of commerce and perhaps pioneer of the system of Navigation Acts; and he was unquestionably the founder of that system of strong government which his son and grandchildren worked so much for the benefit of England. But everything which he did was tentative, and we feel, as we watch him, that he was never very sure of his ground. Avarice often led him to abandon great plans of the usefulness of which he probably felt no doubt; but the poverty of the Crown had been for over a century the greatest misfortune of England, and Henry saw clearly that, if the country was to be governed with any success, he must become a rich king. In private life his tastes were simple and frugal, and his only great expenditure

was upon music and architecture. He seems to have had a good, though not, considering his mother's great reputation for learning, a specially learned education, but he was careful to bring up his children to be really learned in the best sense of the word. Above all things Henry was a patient and laborious king, and he died in 1509 at the age of 52, worn out from unceasing toil in the business of state.

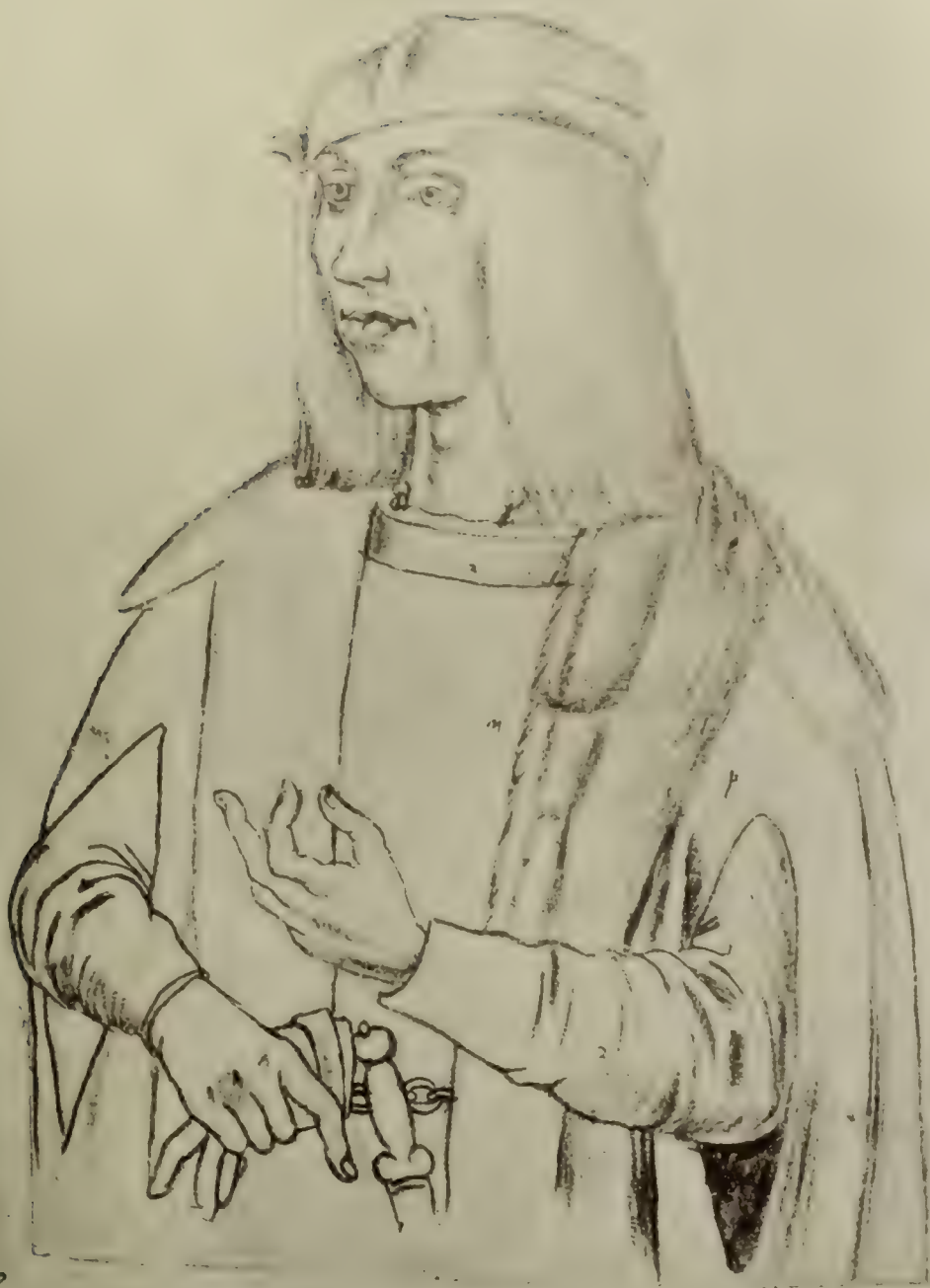
JAMES IV, KING OF SCOTLAND

(1473-1513)

eldest son of James III and Margaret of Denmark, began his political life in a rebellion against his father at the age of fifteen. The rebellion was successful ; King James was killed at Sauchieburn, and the young prince was crowned at Scone a few days afterwards as James IV. It is fairly obvious that he had been a mere tool of the ambitious nobles, and that he always repented the share he had had in his father's death. He was evidently a young man of precocious talents, an excellent linguist, speaking, among other languages, the Gaelic, and writing excellent Latin: he was also devoted to arts and letters. He was, moreover, an energetic administrator, a great builder of ships, a favourer of commerce and of the rising Scottish burghs. We find him constantly on the move even to the remotest parts of his kingdom, and he did much, by his energetic presidency of the judicial eyres of his kingdom, to bring both the wilder feudal nobles of the border and the chieftains of the Islands under royal control. The institution of a central Court of Justice in Edinburgh in 1504 was his work, as was also the introduction of the regular system of tenure of lands by feu. His devotion to the science of artillery may have been as much due to his eager interest in experiments as to his warlike designs, but he was for ever casting big guns and making gunpowder. He was also a most ostentatiously devout servant of the Church, and made yearly pilgrimages to distant holy places in Scotland ; he even talked of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

At his Court foreign influences of every kind pulled him now

this way, now that, and Scotland became the focus of a diplomatic struggle in which England, France and Spain played the leading parts. James was distinctly ahead of his age and of the traditions of his people in wishing to keep the peace with England, but no Scottish King could at that time safely or honourably abandon the alliance with France. James kept for some time at his Court the English pretender Perkin Warbeck, whose tale he seems really to have believed, gave him a lady of royal blood to wife and undertook small warlike movements on his behalf; Perkin, however, was not a warlike person, and on one occasion showed some disposition to cowardice. This may have disgusted the King of Scots, who probably was glad when his guest went off to Ireland in 1497. James thereon concluded the treaty of Ayton with Henry VII and agreed to marry that king's elder daughter, Margaret, who, in 1503, at the age of fourteen, crossed the border as Queen of Scots: it is said that upon this occasion the Order of the Thistle was instituted. Peace and amity continued between England and Scotland until the death of Henry VII, and the lesser country made great strides in prosperity. Henry VIII's espousal of the cause of the Pope against the French King in 1511 speedily put an end to this condition of peace, and it needed little persuasion on the part of Louis XII to throw James back upon the older traditional policy of Scotland. He prepared for a great invasion of England and took with him to the border in 1513 the whole force of Scotland. He was able to take Norham and cross the Tweed, but was entirely outgeneralled by the prudent Earl of Surrey, defeated and slain at Flodden, September 9, 1513. James's private life was stained by flagrant immorality and he left many illegitimate children; but his zeal for good government and his patriotism are indubitable.



Jacques IV d'Esco- IV du nom né le 16 mars 1472 & mort
 le 10 septembre 1513.

JAMES IV, KING OF SCOTLAND

From the drawing attributed to Jacques le Boucq of Artois in the
 Library of the town of Arras

HENRY VIII

(1491-1547)

second son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, was born at Greenwich. He became heir to the throne on the death of his brother Arthur in 1502, and two years later a dispensation arrived from the Pope to enable him to marry his brother's widow, Katharine of Spain; but he protested at the time against the dispensation, and, until his own accession to the throne, it did not seem certain that the marriage would take place. Henry received the most careful and learned education, and became an accomplished scholar in the best sense of the term. He was also a fine athlete and of great bodily strength. For almost fifteen years after his accession to the throne in 1509 no one suspected that Henry was more than a pleasure-loving monarch of great natural gifts and graces, but also of much extravagance, who was content to pass his time in a series of tournaments and revels, and to leave business to his ministers, especially to Cardinal Wolsey. He married Katharine two months after his accession and had by her several children, all of whom, except Princess Mary, born 1516, died in infancy. He engaged in two futile wars with France, 1512 and 1522, and thus spoiled his father's excellent understanding with the Scots. He professed excessive devotion to the Holy See, and, even in after years, all the doctrines and ritual of the old Church remained dear to him. During this period taxation was heavy and was by no means cheerfully borne.

Sometime between 1525 and 1529 a complete change came over Henry's character and method of government: he may be said to

have awaked; and the results of his awakening, if on the whole of enormous benefit to his country, were very terrible to many of the old interests in that country. He desired, not wholly for immoral reasons, a divorce from Katharine, for he was anxious to secure the English succession to a son, and he professed that his conscience was uneasy at the thought of his long but unhallowed union with a brother's wife. Every man and every interest that stood in the way of the royal will had now to be swept from Henry's path. Among these interests was the Church of Rome, as the Popes of that age understood it. Pope Clement VII was ready to give Henry a dispensation to have two wives at once; but for political reasons he was unable to grant a divorce from Katharine, for he was in the clutches of the Emperor Charles V, who was Katharine's nephew. Henry turned in 1529 to the people of England, that is to the upper classes who were represented in the House of Commons. These had for two centuries or more hated and despised the foreign-hearted Papal Church; and, while not wishing as yet for any innovations in doctrine, were quite ready to join the King in the confiscation of clerical property and in the wholesale abolition of the Papal authority in England. Though at first the House of Lords, where bishops, abbots, and conservative peers were strong, gave some trouble, Henry and his devoted Houses of Commons ended by sweeping all before them. Cardinal Wolsey, the Papal headship of the Church, the monasteries and the monastic orders successively fell, and the Crown and the laity were enriched with their spoils. All payments to Rome were forbidden, and all appeals, and the supremacy of the Crown over the Church was entirely established. This was not accomplished without much resistance both from individuals and corporations, nor even without an insurrection in the North, 1536, which at the time threatened to be serious. But each successive movement of resistance was stamped out in blood and fire, and the numerous executions, which might well have been avoided (for almost the whole force and



HENRY VIII

From the portrait by Holbein in possession of the Barber-Surgeons' Company of London (detail)

intelligence of his people was upon Henry's side), have left a terrible stain on the King's name. Political exigencies occasionally led the government into coquetry with the princes of Germany, where the doctrinal reformation was in full blast, but, when the Lutheran doctrines began to spread to England, Henry ruthlessly stamped them out, and twenty-eight 'heretics' were burned during his reign. A terrible tyrant to his enemies, Henry was never in the least a tyrant to the mass of his people, who loved, trusted and honoured him to the end, and whom he also trusted and trained to the use of arms and to a national self-consciousness and pride that had been quite lost since the death of Henry V. He was the true founder of our Navy and a devoted student of all matters connected with the sea, and especially of naval construction and gunnery. He was a true patron of English commerce, which he fostered and protected as no one had done since Edward III. He was a true patron of learning, as his royal foundations at both Universities testify. Finally, he was the King who first taught the House of Commons to take its true place as the exponent of the will of the intelligent classes of England.

In spite of his six successive marriages, Henry left but three children: Mary, the daughter of Katharine of Spain; Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn; and Edward VI, the son of Jane Seymour. By his last three wives, Anne of Cleves, Katharine Howard, Katharine Parr, he had no children; he had one illegitimate son, the Duke of Richmond, who died before himself. In spite of his success and his noble patriotism, Henry's private character must be pronounced detestable: alone of his wives Jane Seymour was parted from him by a natural death; two of them he beheaded. He was a cruel man who rejoiced in spilling the blood of his enemies; he was wickedly and often uselessly extravagant. And he made all this appear worse in the eyes of posterity by his ostentatious assumption of righteousness and his perpetual talk about his conscience.

THOMAS WOLSEY

(1475-1530)

Cardinal and Archbishop of York, the celebrated statesman of Henry VIII's reign, was probably born at Ipswich and was most likely the son of a tradesman of some substance. He came to Oxford and took his degree from Magdalen College at the age of fifteen, was elected Fellow in 1497 and soon afterwards bursar and master of the choir school. His first patron was the Marquis of Dorset, to whose sons he was tutor, and it was Dorset who gave him his first living in the Church : but he began his career as a pluralist very early by getting a dispensation in 1501 to hold two more benefices, and he subsequently became one of the greatest pluralists that ever lived. It would be futile to attempt to enumerate the livings and small preferments which he held at different times, but he does not appear to have performed any ecclesiastical duty or office in any of them. In 1507 he came to Court as Henry VII's chaplain and was patronized by Richard Fox, the statesman Bishop of Winchester; he was employed on one or two diplomatic missions by Henry VII, and, just before that King's death, became Dean of Lincoln. He must have been known to Henry VIII before his accession to the throne, for on that event he at once became the new King's almoner and soon afterwards Canon of Windsor. From that moment till 1527 his influence with Henry was increasing and became supreme. Wolsey, or 'Wulcy', as he always wrote himself, appears to have believed that he possessed a special genius for foreign politics, and that he could make England, in virtue of the great treasures accumulated by Henry VII and the riches which she derived



CARDINAL WOLSEY

From the drawing attributed to Jacques le Boucq of Artois
in the Library of the town of Arras

as a wool-exporting country, the arbiter of Europe, which was then divided into two camps between the contending powers of France and the Austro-Spanish House. It was an age of shameless diplomacy, quick conclusions and as quick desertions of alliances: Wolsey's diplomacy was not more shameless than that of his contemporaries, but we are driven to the conclusion that it was somewhat more futile, for the monarchs of Western Europe were enabled by him to bleed England of money for objects which were quite un-English. Thus he engaged in two futile wars with France (1512 and 1522) and a still more futile candidature of his sovereign for the Imperial Crown (1519), as well as in two successive attempts to get the Papacy for himself; and in statecraft of this type he soon wasted the treasure of the first Tudor King, and left Henry VIII in financial embarrassments which lasted throughout his life. It may well be imagined that Wolsey became profoundly unpopular with such a shrewd commercial people as the English of that age; his famous design to wring £800,000 out of the Parliament of 1523 was a complete failure, while his attempt to raise a large forced loan two years later almost provoked an insurrection. That he took large pensions and preferments from the Kings of Spain and France is not so amazing as that he actually stipulated for them in the treaties which he drew up for the Crown of England. Meanwhile, to enumerate only his higher preferments in the English Church, he became Dean of Hereford in 1512, Dean of York and Precentor of London in 1513, Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of York in 1514, Cardinal in 1515 and Lord Chancellor in the same year, Bishop of Bath and Wells and Legate in 1518, Abbot of St. Albans (the richest benefice in England) 1521, Bishop of Durham 1524, Bishop of Winchester 1529: occasionally, but not often, he would resign one of these pieces of preferment in order to exchange for a better one. He was quite prepared to encourage Henry's desire for a divorce from Katharine, of which he probably first became aware in 1526, and to further it to the best of his ability;

but it is not true that he suggested it to the King, and he always intended that it should be followed by a marriage to some great European princess, preferably a French one. He was joined by the Pope with an Italian Cardinal, Campeggio, in a legatine commission to try the divorce question (1528), but he soon discovered that the Pope never intended to conclude anything, and he was already aware that the King intended to marry Anne Boleyn. In these two circumstances he read his own fall as certain, and indeed it was not long delayed: he was rapidly stripped of all his preferments except the See of York, indicted under the Statute of 'Premunire' in the King's Bench and made to surrender the Great Seal. He made no attempt at resistance, and perhaps really intended to atone for his past life by future humility, but his attitude bore very much the look of abject servility to the King, who certainly treated him with infamous ingratitude. Anne Boleyn was his most determined enemy, and, hateful as Anne Boleyn was even to Henry's courtiers, every one was glad to use her as a tool against the minister who had been so omnipotent, so greedy and so futile. A Bill of Attainder was passed against Wolsey in the Lords on December 29, but thrown out in the Commons, apparently at the King's request. Early in 1530 Wolsey thought he might get out of the way if he visited his See of York, which he had never seen, and it was at Cawood, close to York, that he was arrested for high treason in the November of that year. While journeying slowly back towards the Tower he died at Leicester Abbey, November 29.

Wolsey was a man of indefatigable talent for details, and his industry is undoubted: he was also merciful and averse to the persecution of heretics. If he became a patron of learning by his great foundation at Christ Church, Oxford, and his suppressed college at Ipswich, it was probably rather from desire to show his magnificence than because he possessed any great interest in letters for their own sake. But he was fully aware of the danger in

which the Church of his age stood, and certainly desired, in order to stave off that danger, to promote learning among the clergy. He was a great builder, though rather of palaces than churches, and his most famous creations were Hampton Court and York Place, now Whitehall, both of which he made over to Henry in attempts to conciliate him at the hour of his fall. His private life was immoral and he left two illegitimate children.

JAMES V

(1512-1542)

King of Scotland, son of James IV and Margaret Tudor, was born at Linlithgow, and was seventeen months old when he succeeded his father after the fatal battle of Flodden. His father's will had appointed Queen Margaret as Regent, but only on condition of her remaining a widow; and her marriage with the Earl of Angus, of the great House of Douglas, speedily lost her the regency, which she was naturally loth to resign. The Scottish nobles never ceased to hate her, and, while often intriguing with England on their own account, were continually alarmed with the prospect that Margaret would act in the interests of the English King, her brother. But she quarrelled with him, with her second husband and successively with most other people, too much to have any settled policy at all. The French influence was represented in Scotland by Albany, who succeeded Margaret as Regent in 1515; but Albany was often in France, and the struggle for influence over the boy was mainly between the Douglasses and the Hamiltons. Somebody, perhaps his tutor, Gavin Dunbar, gave James a good education, and, though poems have been ascribed to him which he did not write and reforms which he did not initiate, he grew up to be not only a shrewd and clever but a very fairly learned man. In 1524 the Estates declared him to be of age, but Angus retained the chief power over him even after Margaret had divorced Angus and married Henry Stuart; but James evidently hated Angus and all the Douglas family, and by the time he was really able to think for himself he chose his councillors mainly from the clergy. He



JAMES V OF SCOTLAND

From a portrait in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire

drove Angus out of Scotland and bent all his energies to crushing his partisans, especially upon the borders ; and, to repress feuds, he set in working, in 1532, the Central College of Justice at Edinburgh, afterwards known as 'the Fifteen'. From that date begin Henry's attempts to control his Scottish nephew : in various ways, among others by the offer of the hand of Princess Mary, he attempted to get James to move in the orbit of England ; and he had unfortunately always the alternative card to play of exciting the disloyal Scots nobles to make insurrections. Any alliance with England would, James saw, have to be based upon a repudiation of Papal Supremacy and consequently upon a breach with his clergy, whom alone he felt able to trust. Protestantism had begun to show its head in a few of the eastern ports of Scotland, and James, as an intelligent person, knew and avowed that there were many things in the Scottish Church which urgently needed reform. But both Imperial and French offers of alliance and marriage were being constantly pressed upon him, and Henry VIII showed less than his usual diplomatic skill in posing as James's 'candid friend'. The result was that in 1536 James went to France and was married to Princess Magdalen, daughter of Francis I, at Notre Dame on January 1, 1537. He landed at Leith with his bride in May ; she died in July, and in the summer of the next year he married Mary of Guise, widowed Duchess of Longueville. This meant final rejection of all overtures to the Reformation, a deadly quarrel with Henry VIII, and the triumph of the influence of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and, on his death, of his nephew and successor, David Beaton. Henry's rage knew no bounds, and the death of the Queen-Mother, Margaret, in 1541 snapped the last link in Henry VII's wise policy of conciliation. At the end of 1540 James got the Estates to declare forfeit to the Crown all the lands of the Douglasses and Lindsays, much of the Hamilton and Hepburn property and all the islands on the West and North coasts : it was practically an open declaration of war on the great

houses of Scotland. When James, fearing a trap, which had indeed been laid for him, declined at the end of 1541 to come and meet his uncle Henry at York, Henry declared war and sent Norfolk with a large force to waste the eastern borders. James's barons, after their recent rough treatment, had little inclination to fight for him, and his counter-raid in the direction of Carlisle, which he accompanied himself as far as Lochmaben, ended in the dreadful defeat and disgraceful rout of Solway Moss, November 1542. A few days after that Queen Mary gave birth (Dec. 8) to the only child that survived her, and a week later James died of a broken heart at Falkland Castle.

That James neglected great opportunities, that he struck at the wrong time and often at the wrong persons, is beyond question; but his long minority and the previous history of the Scottish nobles were the main causes of his misfortunes, which were greater than had fallen on many less worthy Kings. Though very immoral in private life, he always retained the affection of the common people both in town and country: perhaps no King since Alexander III had been more popular.

SIR THOMAS MORE

(1478-1535)

the flower of the early English Renaissance, son of Sir John More and Agnes Graunger, was born in London. It is possible that he was a schoolfellow of John Colet's; at the age of thirteen he entered the household of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop and Chancellor to Henry VII. In the next year he was sent to Canterbury Hall, Oxford, where he remained for two years and where he met Linacre, Grocyn and possibly Colet, and it was probably from Grocyn that he picked up his first love of Greek. Neither he nor Colet ever became finished Greek scholars, but it is evident that they could read and translate the language fluently. More, at all events, became a most elegant Latinist. In 1494 he began his study of the law and became eventually a barrister with a large practice, while devoting all his leisure to literary studies. His most intimate friendship with Colet can hardly be dated earlier than 1504, but he had evidently met him before, and from 1497 he was a warm friend of Erasmus, with whom in 1499 he paid a visit to Henry VII's children, being delighted with the intelligence of Prince Henry. For a short period (1499-1503) More was taken with the idea of becoming a priest or even a monk, and he never wholly relinquished the ascetic practices and views which he then adopted. He first sat in the Parliament of 1504, and was in disgrace for some time for leading an opposition to Henry VII's fiscal policy. He married Jane Colt in 1505, and on her death in 1511 Alice Middleton. When he was making a large fortune at the bar he built himself a beautiful house in Chelsea, where he continued to reside till his imprison-

ment and death. He was employed on some diplomatic missions by Wolsey, and on one of these he met at Antwerp Erasmus's friend Giles, in whose society he conceived the idea of his most famous work, *Utopia* (first published in Latin 1516). He became Master of Requests 1518 and a privy councillor the same year. From that time probably dates his close intimacy with Henry VIII, who delighted in his witty and learned conversation. He accompanied the King to Calais in 1520 and there met the greatest Greek scholar of the age, Budaeus, with whom he afterwards corresponded. In 1521 Henry knighted him and two years later he became Speaker of the House of Commons: honours thereafter came thick upon him, the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge, the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster; and it is to this same period that his controversial writings against Luther and Tyndale belong. Finally in 1529 he was made Lord Chancellor, and so had to preside in the early sessions of the 'Reformation Parliament'. He made a most excellent and equitable Chancellor, and was famous for the speed with which he cleared away suits from a court whose delays were already notorious.

But the tide that was to engulf him was already rising. King and Parliament were set on one thing, the diminution and ultimately the destruction of the Papal power in England. More was far too conservative to approve of such a breach with the past, and he saw clearly that the iniquitous divorce from Queen Katharine, whose warm partisan he was, had been Henry's main incentive. In May 1532 he therefore resigned his office of Chancellor and thenceforth kept away from Court. In 1533 he was for a time involved in the superstition of Elizabeth Barton, 'the Nun of Kent,' who was setting up for a prophetess, but on closer examination he admitted that he had been her dupe, and his name was struck off the Bill of Attainder in which her adherents were mentioned. But in 1534 he found himself confronted with the demand that he should swear to the Act of Succession, and should swear in such explicit terms as



SIR THOMAS MORE

From a portrait by Holbein in the possession of Edward Huth, Esq.

involved a denial of the power of the Pope to grant dispensations from the Levitical law. More was quite ready to swear to uphold the succession of Queen Anne's children to the Crown; but, for this is what it practically came to, he would not disown Queen Katharine's. He was therefore committed to the Tower together with his friend Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (April 1534), and most of his property was confiscated. When Parliament passed in the next year the Act of Supremacy, More declined to give his open opinion on it; but he let every one know that he abhorred it. In July he was indicted of high treason under the new Act, and accused of conspiring in the Tower with his fellow prisoner Fisher. He was beheaded on Tower Hill, July 6.

His reputation as a scholar and almost as a saint was so widely diffused, that the cry of horror, raised all over civilized Europe at his death, would have shaken any throne less firmly grounded on the popular will than Henry's. His wit was as famous as his piety, and his grave jest on the steps of the scaffold is well known. On the other hand, his own theological position was a remarkable one: he lived and died an ascetic and even a superstitious ascetic; though it is not actually capable of proof that he caused heretics to be burned during his Chancellorship, he hated them, and always said so, with a perfect and intolerant hatred. Yet he had been in his youth hand and glove with the earliest of the reformers, he was a devout Platonist and had written the first English book (*Utopia*) which advocated universal toleration and brought all things to the test of reason.

THOMAS CROMWELL

(1485?-1540)

Earl of Essex and tool of Henry VIII, seems to have been born at Putney of humble origin. All the early stories of his life are obscure and often self-contradictory, and the only certain things are that he had been in Italy in his youth and had afterwards been in business in Antwerp. It is, however, extremely probable that he had also served as a private soldier. He was in England as early as 1513, and beginning to prosper in business both as a merchant and a solicitor. He was employed by Wolsey as collector of the revenues of his See of York as early as 1514, and he sat in Parliament in 1523. Wolsey evidently employed him if he had dirty work to do; e.g. he was his agent in 1524 in the suppression of some small monasteries, whose revenues were to go to the Cardinal's foundations at Oxford and Ipswich; and he is said to have executed this task with much vulgar cruelty. Finally he became Wolsey's chief financial adviser, and, in 1530, managed to give the world the impression that both in Parliament and outside it he was defending fallen greatness, while he was in reality taking care not to be involved in his patron's fall. Like the unjust steward, he advised the Cardinal to satisfy his enemies by large bribes, of the conveyance of which he was to be the agent. We have no authority for saying that Wolsey in any way 'bequeathed' Cromwell as a trusty servant to the King, nor do we even know how or when the King first became acquainted with his future minister: but, by the beginning of 1531, Cromwell had become a privy councillor, and a year later Master of the Jewel House and Clerk of the Hanaper.



THOMAS CROMWELL, EARL OF ESSEX

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery

By the spring of 1533 his position was assured: he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, then King's Secretary, then 'Vicerent in all causes ecclesiastical'. This made him practically a Royal Commissioner for enforcing the statutes passed in the then sitting Parliament, and the brutality with which he enforced them is notorious. Henry, who was at this period of his life intoxicated with triumph and pride, needed an instrument such as Cromwell who would be entirely devoid of scruples: at the same time there is much evidence that Cromwell even exceeded his master's savage instructions. The manner in which Fisher, More and the Carthusian monks were brought to their deaths, the manner in which, in the subsequent visitation of the monasteries, a case was artificially got up against the monks, form the blackest blots on the name of Henry and of his minister. As Lord Privy Seal, Cromwell was raised to the peerage in 1536 as Baron Cromwell and four years later he received the Earldom of Essex. But the reaction had already begun. Cromwell presumed upon his influence and sought to impel Henry in the direction of Lutheranism: the King, who never lost his balance or his faculty of feeling the pulse of his people, saw that he had already gone too far. Though he allowed the minister to involve him for political reasons into something like coquetry with the North German princes, who had embraced Lutheran views, and even to provide him with a fourth wife (Anne of Cleves) of German origin, he drew back in 1540 and flung the hated Earl to the wolves. Cromwell was attainted, refused a hearing, and, after abject appeals for mercy, beheaded in July.

Attempts have been made, especially by ardent Protestant partisans, to whitewash Cromwell's character, but they have been wholly in vain. Though he had furthered the translation of the Bible, and professed an ostentatious friendship for Cranmer, he died a Catholic or declared that he did so, and none of his own contemporaries seem to have had a good word to say for him.

THOMAS CRANMER

(1489-1556)

Archbishop of Canterbury and martyr, son of Thomas Cranmer and Agnes Hatfield, was born in Nottinghamshire of a family of country squires. He went to Cambridge in 1503 and remained there engaged in study for many years. He became a Fellow of Jesus College, married, lost his wife and was re-elected to his Fellowship. In 1529 he, then acting as a tutor at Waltham Abbey, met Stephen Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, who was acting for Henry VIII in the matter of the divorce, and made to him the suggestion that the King would do well to take the opinion of the leading divines of the Universities of Europe. The King was pleased with the idea and summoned Cranmer to Greenwich; he became chaplain in the Boleyn household and was warmly patronized by Anne, his first preferment being to the Archdeaconry of Taunton. He went to Italy with Anne's father on the divorce business, and was well received by Pope Clement VII; thence to Germany, where he saw Charles V, who also treated him kindly, and where he married a German lady. While he was accompanying the Imperial Court to North Italy he received news of his own nomination to the See of Canterbury, vacant by Warham's death (1532): he returned to England in 1533 and was consecrated in March after the requisite Papal Bulls had been procured. The consecration ceremony involved an oath of obedience to the Pope which he took, but against which he



THOMAS CRANMER

From the portrait by G. Fliccius in the National Portrait Gallery

registered an open protest: and his first business as Archbishop was to hold a court to inquire into the validity of the union of Henry and Katharine; his next was to hold an inquiry into the validity of Henry's secret marriage with Anne. On both occasions he pronounced in favour of the King. Thenceafter he became the pliant instrument of all the King's ecclesiastical changes, and the Royal Supremacy became the first article of his creed; but on the other hand, he lost no opportunity of trying to mitigate the King's severity against opponents. There is hardly a victim of Henry's tyranny for whom Cranmer's intercession is not recorded. It is very difficult to determine the progress of the Archbishop's theological opinions; probably the abjuration of the Pope, the marriage of priests, communion in both kinds, with an English Bible and Prayer Book, were the things upon which he set most store; and we may also feel tolerably sure that it was not until the very end of Henry's reign that he became 'heretical' on the cardinal doctrine of the Sacrament. Once, however, he had come to reject Transubstantiation, he clung firmly to that position, although it is also clear that he retained to the end of his life belief in some form of the Real Presence. The Ten Articles of 1536, the first Anglican confession of faith, were at least revised by him: with the Six Articles of 1539 he had nothing to do, and his assent to them was probably an unwilling compliance. Indeed he was more than once in danger of being indicted as a heretic under them, and complaints were freely spoken against him in his own diocese and by his own cathedral clergy; but Henry protected him with a strong hand. More than anything else he was interested in the translation of the Bible and especially in the production of the Authorized Version of 1539; and his deep patristic learning was of invaluable service in this matter: the English Litany of 1544 was his work, and was in fact but a step to the publication of the first English Prayer Book. For this, however, he had to wait till the reign of Edward VI, but when it appeared, 1549, it was almost wholly his work. In this reign he opposed

with all the influence he possessed the continued spoliation of the property of the Church, yet he was a warm friend of the Protector Somerset, who must certainly be classed as a spoiler. The first 'Edwardian settlement' of religion (1549) probably represents Cranmer's views best. From the fall of Somerset wilder spirits got the upper hand, and the Archbishop's influence waned. Northumberland determined upon a 'thorough reformation' and a close union with the Calvinistic and Zwinglian Churches of the Continent. Cranmer submitted to this as to everything, and allowed in 1552 a revision of the Prayer Book to be published as the 'Second Prayer Book of Edward VI', together with a confession of faith, of a decidedly Calvinistic tone, known as the 'Forty-two Articles'. But he hated the crew of foreigners, which the government obliged him to invite and to quarter on the English Church; and he profoundly distrusted Northumberland. At Edward's death-bed he consented with extreme unwillingness to put his name to the document devising the succession to Jane Grey, and thereby excluding the Princess Mary; but when every one else afterwards disavowed their signatures, Cranmer openly avowed to Mary that he had signed in good faith. He read the funeral service of the Prayer Book over his royal godson, whom he had so dearly loved, and offered to defend in a public disputation the Communion against the Mass: but he was at once committed to the Tower, and shortly after condemned to death as a traitor along with Jane Grey and Northumberland. The vindictive Queen, however, reserved him for a worse fate: in March 1554 he was sent to Oxford together with the ex-Bishops Ridley and Latimer with the obvious intention of bringing him to trial as a heretic. Reliance was placed by his enemies on the effect which a long imprisonment would have, on a person of his tender and pliant character, in the direction of recantation; for, if the Protestant primate recanted in face of the stake, they thought a lasting blow would be struck at Protestantism. Every artifice of Papal and Spanish craft was

brought to bear, and at last successfully. Cranmer, after disputations in public, denials of the Pope's jurisdiction, degradations from episcopate and priesthood, signed several successive recantations in the hope of saving his life. But when in March 1556 he was told he was to be burnt alive after all, he recovered his character and publicly recanted his recantation, denounced the Pope as Antichrist, and met his death with perfect bravery and cheerfulness.

EDWARD VI

(1537-1553)

only child of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, was born at Hampton Court, his mother dying twelve days after his birth. He spent most of his time at Greenwich or at Hampton, and his feeble health was probably a reason against his travelling very far from home. His most important tutor was Sir John Cheke, a great Cambridge scholar; but he had also lessons from Richard Cox and Roger Ascham. His early precocity and delight in study were, even for that learned age, very great, but it is probable that he was not physically strong enough for much devotion to open-air sports. He seems to have had few friends except Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, the son of an Irish peer, with whom he corresponded regularly, and who was, according to tradition, the person who was swished when Edward did anything wrong. When his father died, Edward was only nine years and three months old, and a Council of sixteen executors had been appointed by the late King's will to carry on the government. But from the first meeting of that Council, February 1, 1547, Edward's maternal uncle Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, emerged as Protector of the Realm and was soon afterwards made, or made himself, Duke of Somerset. Cranmer, who was his godfather, performed the coronation ceremony for Edward on February 20th, and both Ridley and Latimer were favourite preachers of his: indeed his delight in sermons was excessive, and his zeal for pushing on the Reformation remarkable. He was able to dispute on high points of sacramental theology; but it is no doubt easy for kings to shine in disputations, especially when no opponents are allowed to answer them. More extreme reformers, such as Hooper and even John Knox, soon appeared



EDWARD VI

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, painted under the influence of Holbein

in favour with Edward ; and foreigners from Germany and Switzerland superseded the influence of the gentle and learned Cranmer. Somerset, it seems, had alienated the King's affection, perhaps by too constant supervision ; and Somerset's treacherous brother Thomas Seymour did all he could to sow distrust of the Protector in the boy's mind ; but when first this man and then his far nobler brother fell, Edward signed their death-warrants with callous alacrity, and made cold-blooded entries about them in a journal which he kept (and which is still extant) from his accession till November 1552. Marriages were successively proposed for Edward with Mary, infant Queen of Scotland, and, when she was safely betrothed to the Dauphin of France, with Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II of France. The Duke of Somerset fell from power in 1549, ousted by the far more unscrupulous John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who however never assumed the title of Protector, and who was obliged to wait till January 1552 before he could actually send Somerset to the block. Edward professed to look upon Warwick, whom he created Duke of Northumberland, as his father ; but we have no means of knowing how far he was merely made to say what Northumberland wished ; for during the year 1552 his health went from bad to worse, and the last six months of his life (January to July, 1553) were a mere lingering agony. A month before Edward's death, Northumberland, who had recently married one of his own sons to Edward's cousin Jane Grey, got the boy to devise the succession to the Crown by will to this lady, and drew up letters-patent, which he compelled all the Council to sign, to the same effect. Edward on his death-bed showed himself passionately eager for this scheme. He died on July 6th, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. The so-called 'Grammar Schools of King Edward VI', supposed to be monuments of his zeal for learning and education, have very little title to bear his name ; they were mainly old foundations of chantries or hospitals, which Cranmer persuaded the greedy Councillors to spare, when all the other property of religious corporations was confiscated.

EDWARD SEYMOUR

DUKE OF SOMERSET

(1506-1552)

son of Sir John Seymour and Margaret Wentworth, of an old Wiltshire family, is first heard of in the company of his father, who was a courtier of Henry VIII's early years. He saw service in the second French war of that King and was knighted on the field by the Duke of Suffolk. But his fortunes really began when, in 1536, Henry married his sister Jane and created him Earl of Hertford; and her death in the following year did nothing to diminish his influence. In 1544 he was in command of the English army which raided southern Scotland and sacked Edinburgh. Next year he valiantly defended Boulogne against a French attempt at recapture, and six months afterwards he was again raiding in force beyond the Scottish border. In the last months of Henry's reign his influence finally triumphed over that of his rivals the Howards, and this came to mean the triumph of the Protestant cause against Catholic reaction. Hertford and Paget seem to have received, on 28th January, 1547, the dying commands of King Henry, and though that monarch's will had provided for a Council of sixteen to govern during his son's minority, they set it aside, got possession of the person of Edward VI, and, overcoming all opposition in the Council, contrived to have Hertford declared Protector. A few days later he made himself Duke of Somerset. Whether or not Henry VIII had intended the Anglo-Catholic settlement of 1539 to endure, Somerset resolved at once to set it aside, and to make England a Protestant country. In much of this, though not in all of



EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET

From a portrait by Holbein in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, K.G.

it, he seems to have carried Cranmer with him, but his wholesale spoliation of Church property, and his commission for the removal of images and pictures and for the whitewashing of churches was by no means to the Archbishop's taste ; and while in doctrine Somerset leaned to the theology of Calvin, Cranmer was more inclined to be Lutheran. The first Prayer Book of 1549 probably did not go far enough in doctrine to please the Protector. Both he and the Archbishop were, however, averse to persecution, and Somerset's zeal for mercy and toleration, his genuine pity for the poor, whose cause he espoused against the greedy grantees of Abbey lands, were very remarkable in an age of blood and iron. No heretics suffered death during his period of power, and he procured from Parliament the repeal of many of Henry's savage Treason Acts. As a statesman Somerset was a complete failure ; he dreamed of uniting England and Scotland by a marriage of their youthful sovereigns, but his method of bringing it to pass was by insolent claims of supremacy over Scotland, by appeals to Scottish Protestants to turn traitors to their country, and by a fierce invasion which inflicted on the Scots the terrible reverse of Pinkie, 1547 ; this policy naturally defeated itself, and the Queen of Scots was betrothed to the Dauphin and soon after sent for safety to France. Somerset also managed to quarrel with France, a quarrel which resulted in the loss to England of the city of Boulogne. He had also to confront two agrarian revolts in England (in Devon and Norfolk) for which he cannot be held to blame, but he weakly allowed his rival John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, to undertake the task of repressing the more serious of these outbreaks. He alienated the affections of the young King, if Edward can be said to have had any, which is doubtful ; and he was unfortunate enough to have to appear against his own brother Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, a wicked intriguer, who was conspiring against the State ; though Somerset did his best to dissuade him from his evil courses, the guilt of fratricide could hardly fail to attach itself to him when Thomas was attainted

54 EDWARD SEYMOUR, DUKE OF SOMERSET

and executed. All this lent opportunity to the Protector's numerous enemies to conspire against him, Warwick taking the lead. In October 1549 the majority of the Council, under Warwick's guidance, having secured the Tower and being strong in armed force, deprived him of the Protectorate and sent him to prison. Somerset, in spite of some ill-judged appeals to the 'poor commons' to rise on his behalf, submitted tamely: he remained in the Tower till February 1550, and, though charges were preferred against him in Parliament, he was not brought to trial. In April an apparent reconciliation took place; Somerset was readmitted to the Privy Council and much of his already forfeited property was restored to him. But he had no more influence on the government, and, in the autumn of 1551, Warwick took advantage of some unguarded speeches of the Duke's to arrest him for high treason: false evidence of an intended conspiracy was got up against him and, though the charge of treason broke down, his peers found him guilty of felony and he was beheaded in January 1552.

JOHN DUDLEY

DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND

(1502-1553)

son of Edmund Dudley and Elizabeth Grey, is first heard of as distinguishing himself, together with his future rival Edward Seymour, in the second French war of Henry VIII; and whatever else he was, no one can deny that on the battle-field he was a brave soldier. As Viscount Lisle he became in 1542 Warden of the Marches and Lord High Admiral, and was present with Seymour, now Earl of Hertford, in the dreadful raid of 1544 in which Edinburgh was sacked. Shortly afterwards he aided in the capture of Boulogne, and drove before him the French fleet which had attacked the Isle of Wight, fighting a successful rearguard action with them off Shoreham. He acquiesced, probably with dissimulation in the Protectorate of Hertford over young Edward VI, and was raised to the Earldom of Warwick when Hertford made himself Duke of Somerset, but he was obliged to resign his office of Admiral to Thomas Seymour. He was present and displayed great valour at the Battle of Pinkie in 1547; but it is evident that he lost no opportunity of intriguing against the Protector, who made a great mistake in entrusting to him the suppression of the peasant rebellion in Norfolk in 1549. On his return from that task, which he executed with ability, but also with savage cruelty, Warwick began to show his hand, and it was at his house in London that the conspirators against Somerset met. The Protector's openly avowed zeal for the 'poor commons', whose livelihood was threatened by the growth of the enclosures, had frightened the upper classes and

especially the new grantees of the monastic lands : Warwick successfully made himself the spokesman of these men, and had at his back almost the whole of the Privy Council. Somerset had no real means of resistance ; he was arrested in October and sent to the Tower. But Warwick was prudent enough not to make himself Protector, and, declaring Edward to be of age to sign documents of State, he contented himself with the Admiralty, Mastership of the Royal Household and Presidency of the Council. He did not venture as yet to send Somerset to the block, for the latter had many friends in Parliament, and so he contrived to patch up a temporary reconciliation with him ; and in the following April (1550) readmitted his rival to the Privy Council. Somerset's government had not been remarkable for success either at home or abroad, but Warwick's was infinitely worse ; he enlisted foreign mercenaries to act as a bodyguard, he debased the coinage, he pushed on the Reformation in religion without the least regard to the temper of the nation, introduced and compelled Cranmer to receive foreign reformers from Germany and Switzerland and shamefully plundered what property still remained to the Church. He gave up the contest with Scotland and France, and tried by every means to curry favour with the King of the latter country, ignoring the fact that this, combined with his cruel treatment of the Princess Mary, would almost certainly lead to a war with the Emperor, and the ruin of the English wool trade. In October 1551 he made himself Duke of Northumberland, and seized for his new dukedom most of the lands of the See of Durham ; and at the same date he felt strong enough to strike at Somerset, who was now accused of a conspiracy, dating from the previous April, to murder the Lords of the Council. Evidence, afterwards proved to be false, was extracted by torture against the ex-Protector, who was tried, found guilty of felony and executed in January 1552. For eighteen more months the government staggered on, adding every week by its tyranny and incapacity to the load of hatred that it bore. Edward professed to look upon



JOHN DUDLEY, DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.

From a portrait in the possession of Lord Sackville

Northumberland as his father, but we have no means of knowing what the intelligent if cold-blooded boy really felt. From January 1553 the King's feeble health gave certain signs of an early death; and in May, Northumberland, who must have known what he had to expect on the accession of Queen Mary, married one of his own sons to Jane Grey, great-granddaughter of Henry VII, and in the next month persuaded Edward to make a devise of the succession in favour of the said Jane. The Council, intimidated by Northumberland's foreign mercenaries, gave way and signed acquiescence to this astonishing programme. Edward died on July 6th: Jane was proclaimed, and Northumberland set out to capture the person of the rightful Queen, Mary. Directly he was gone the leading Councillors seized the first opportunity of repudiating their act, and proclaimed Mary as Queen. Deserted by his troops, Northumberland followed suit, was at once arrested, sent to the Tower and beheaded on 22nd August.

A more subtle, false and selfish scoundrel never dragged a great cause in the dirt. After all his professed zeal for the Reformation, he declared on the scaffold that he died a Catholic; and the shrewd Knox, who had already refused to accept a bishopric at his hands, likened him to Achitophel. Still more aptly perhaps, one of his own creatures, Bishop Poynt, compared him to Alcibiades.

LADY JANE GREY

(1537-1554)

elder daughter of Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, afterwards Duke of Suffolk, and of Frances Brandon, who was daughter of Henry VII's youngest child, Mary, was born at Bradgate, Leicestershire, in the same month as her cousin, King Edward VI. For learning, accomplishments and fervent Protestant piety, she was one of the marvels of that learned age. Her first tutor was John Aylmer, afterwards Elizabeth's Bishop of London. Roger Ascham knew her and extolled her learning; she could read Plato for pleasure at thirteen, and at fifteen had begun Hebrew; she held her own in her last hours in controversial theology against the Catholic divines who were sent to dispute with her. Before King Henry's death she was a member of Katharine Parr's household, and, when that lady subsequently married Thomas Seymour, she was to some extent a victim, together with her cousin Elizabeth, of Seymour's unscrupulous policy. He professed to wish to marry her to Edward VI; of his ulterior designs on the two young ladies it is difficult to speak with certainty. When the astute Northumberland was preparing in the spring of 1553 to change the succession, he contrived a marriage between Jane and his own fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley (May 21st), probably much against Jane's will, for she never concealed her hatred of Northumberland. In June Edward was persuaded to make a devise of the succession in favour of Jane and her heirs male, and, when Edward died (July 6) Jane, who had known nothing of the plot, was astonished to be told that she was the Queen (July 9). Next day she came in a barge



LADY JANE GREY

From a portrait by Lucas De Heere in the National Portrait Gallery

to the Tower with her husband, and was obliged to acquiesce in her elevation. She even signed during the next few days some documents of State and appointed an ambassador. But outside London she seems to have been proclaimed only at King's Lynn and at Berwick: the whole country was rising for Mary, and even the traitor Northumberland, who had gone to secure the person of the Princess, was obliged to proclaim her Queen; and on the 19th Jane's own father, Suffolk, followed suit at the Tower. Jane accordingly remained a prisoner there until November, when she was arraigned at the Guildhall of high treason, pleaded guilty and was condemned to death. She was not, however, executed until the failure of Wyatt's rebellion in the late winter: she and her husband suffered on the same day—February 12, 1554.

MARY I

(1516–1558)

daughter and only surviving child of Henry VIII and Katharine of Spain, was born at Greenwich and was the godchild of Wolsey. Hers is perhaps the most tragic story in English history. Her disposition, naturally one of extreme sweetness and affection, was soured by a series of cruel wrongs lasting from her thirteenth to her thirty-seventh year. She was well educated and became an accomplished scholar in Latin, French and Spanish, though there is no evidence that she spoke or even understood Greek. She was an extremely accomplished musician and found in music one of the few comforts of her later life. Her earliest friends appear to have been the aged Lady Salisbury, niece of King Edward IV, and that lady's son, Reginald Pole: both these, as well as her saintly mother, would nourish her in hatred of everything savouring of heresy or of the breach with Rome. Endless marriages—French, Spanish, Portuguese, German-Protestant of several varieties—were proposed for the Princess, who, until her mother's divorce began to be mooted, was recognized as unquestioned heir to the Crown and often spoken of as 'Princess of Wales'; indeed at one time she kept a little Court at Ludlow, as former Princes of Wales had done. The person to whom she was affianced for the longest time was her future husband's father, the Emperor Charles V: the most revolting suggestion made, when Henry was pushing on the divorce, was that a Papal dispensation should be procured to marry her to his own natural son, the Duke of Richmond. The divorce entailed her banishment from Court, and at last, in 1531, her final separation



MARY I

From the portrait by Joannes Corvus in the National Portrait Gallery

from her mother. Henceforth, until the fall of Anne Boleyn, she was subject to endless humiliations, and even for long after that continued to be styled 'The Lady Mary, the King's natural daughter'. Both Queen Anne and Cromwell were said to have designs upon her life; but Queen Jane and Queen Katharine III treated her with warm kindness, and, in the summer of 1536, she bowed to the inevitable, begged pardon of her father for offences she had never committed, and, at the end of the year, was restored to his favour. Danger came for her again when the northern rebels in 1537 demanded her recognition as heiress; and in the next few years she saw her dearest friends, of the families of Pole and Courtenay, perishing on the scaffold or driven into exile. But in 1544, perhaps owing to the influence of good Katharine Parr, she was named in Henry's will as next to Edward in the succession, though no formal recognition of her legitimacy was ever made until her own first Parliament met.

During the reign of her brother she resided chiefly at her manors of Kenninghall, Hunsdon, or Newhall; and during Somerset's protectorate at least she was not ill-treated. The Duchess of Somerset was her friend, and to her many of Mary's affectionate letters are written. She remonstrated stoutly against the religious changes which were introduced (1547-9), but she occasionally visited her brother, for whom she always showed an affection which there is no evidence that he reciprocated. It is about this time that we begin to be aware that she was frequently in ill-health, especially in the autumnal season, but from what disease she suffered, unless it were tumour or incipient dropsy, it is hard to say. The Act of Uniformity of 1549 at once brought her into difficulties. Somerset, it is clear, had no intention of pressing hardly on her, and the Council as a whole must have known, from the frailty of Edward's health and the universal love and respect felt for the Princess by the whole nation, how probable her ultimate succession was. But Northumberland was, from 1551 at least, master of the Council, and

he made every effort to force Mary to conform, deprived her of her servants, prosecuted them and insulted her and finally determined to prevail on Edward to alter the succession to the Crown. Spies watched Mary's actions from morning till night, yet she contrived to communicate with the Imperial ambassador, and through him with Charles V. It is practically certain that, if Edward's life had been prolonged or if Jane's usurpation had had any chance of success, Charles would have struck for Mary; the folly and incompetence of Northumberland made this unnecessary. Jane's 'reign' lasted but ten days, and the whole country welcomed on July 19th, 1553, the bitterly wronged Princess to the throne of her father. But the cruel experience of twenty-five years had been too much to be borne without fatal results upon her character. Mary had become wholly un-English. Her mother's sufferings and the Catholic faith were written upon her heart; and by 1553 the Catholic faith meant to her an uncompromising championship of the Papacy, and of the Papal standard-bearer, Spain. By degrees, loyal Englishmen, most of whom wished for an Anglo-Catholic settlement independent of Pope or Spain and perhaps with the Mass in English, learned that Mary had the imperious will of her father, the bigotry of her Spanish ancestors, and more vindictiveness than could be found in either. Policy, interest of every sort and kind, must give way to the duty of extirpating the Reformation and the leading reformers, root and branch. Mary and her Spanish confessors, and not Gardiner or Bonner, not even Philip of Spain, are to blame for the cruel series of martyrdoms that stained her reign and have stained her name for ever.

At first indeed she was obliged to maintain some show of moderation. Charles V, her constant adviser, had no mind to cloud the renewal of the Anglo-Spanish alliance with a shadow of popular hatred. Mary's own Council was much divided, and the Queen could not venture to show her hand openly. But the failure of Wyatt's rebellion in the early days of 1554 strengthened her hands,

and she sent her enemies to the block wholesale. The coming of Philip and the marriage with him in the following July further removed the need for caution, yet no religious persecution could begin until Parliament had re-enacted the Statutes for burning heretics ; and these Statutes were twice thrown out in the House of Lords. Pole was allowed to land in state as legate in the autumn of 1554, and, after a regular agreement had been arrived at that the Pope was not to demand the restitution of the old monastic lands to the Church, the two Houses accepted absolution from him and the realm was reconciled to the Roman See. The same third Parliament at last re-enacted the persecuting Acts, and in the remaining forty-two months of Mary's reign nearly three hundred persons were burnt alive for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament. The fact that this appeared to be the result of the Spanish connexion added fuel to the hatred which the persecution aroused in England ; but the truth was that Philip regarded England merely as a useful ally in European politics : when it became obvious that Mary would bear him no son, he did not conceal his indifference to her ; and this, with the tardy discovery of her barrenness, finally broke her health and her heart. Philip did indeed revisit England, after a long absence, in the spring of 1557, but it was only to draw the Council into his war with France, a war which resulted in the loss of Calais in the following January. To this new grief, and to the terrible financial straits which had been getting worse all through her reign, the last straw was added in the shape of a quarrel with the Papacy, for whose sake Mary had sacrificed so much. Pole, her only true friend, was dying ; and Mary died only a few hours before him, on Nov. 17th, 1558.

To the last, Mary remained capable of inspiring affection : her ladies-in-waiting were passionately devoted to her : she was infinitely charitable and courteous where religion was not concerned : but for her early wrongs, and had there never been a Reformation to stamp out, she would have made a noble queen.

STEPHEN GARDINER

(1483 ?-1555)

Bishop of Winchester, is one of the most remarkable figures in the sixteenth century. Of his birth and early years practically nothing is known, but he was a student and afterwards a Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and was probably old enough to have sat at the feet of Erasmus. He took a doctor's degree in Civil Law in 1520 and in Canon Law in 1521, and became eventually the first canonist of his age; he remained to the end of his life almost alone among the Papal Catholics, a scholar and a favourer of scholars. Gardiner's fortunes began when he became tutor to the son of the Duke of Norfolk and was by him introduced to Wolsey, whose Secretary he became. In 1525 he was elected Master of Trinity Hall, and was soon employed by Wolsey in the business of the King's divorce. Upon this errand he paid two visits to Italy, giving great satisfaction to Henry and to Anne Boleyn, and he used his influence at Cambridge in the same direction. He tried to save Wolsey, and did successfully save Wolsey's foundation of Christ Church; and he became Bishop of Winchester in 1531. His adroitness in steering through the quicksands of Henry's reign, which engulfed so many of his contemporaries, is the more remarkable from the fact that he was upon occasions, notably in 1531, the outspoken champion of the privileges of the Clergy, while continuing to act as Secretary to the King. He presided over commissions to try heretics, attended Anne Boleyn at her coronation, supported the Royal and denounced the Papal Supremacy (see his tract 'de Vera



STEPHEN GARDINER

From the portrait belonging to Trinity Hall, Cambridge

obedientia', 1535), yet retained the confidence of the Catholic party and even of successive Popes. Of Cranmer he always appears as the jealous enemy, yet almost more the enemy of the now exiled champion of the Papacy Reginald Pole, and it is quite possible to look upon his attitude as indicating a patriotic leaning to a 'high' Anglo-Catholic position of national independence. But there is also evidence that Henry thoroughly mistrusted him and yet found him too useful to be abandoned. In the framing of the Six Articles, 1539, he had the chief share, and here he and the King could cordially agree. On the accession of Edward VI, he at once appears as the leader of the Opposition and the devout champion of Catholic doctrine and practice. Somerset was most anxious to conciliate him, and, though obliged to send him to a short imprisonment for resisting the first Ecclesiastical Visitation of 1547, he got him liberated and restored to his see within three months. As, however, he openly preached against the whole new Settlement, he had to be sent to the Tower in July 1548; but it was left to Northumberland to deprive him of his bishopric and to make his confinement rigorous. Gardiner was therefore the man of all others who had most reason to rejoice at Mary's accession.

To Mary he had as yet mainly been known as one of the leading agents in her mother's divorce, and as the hated enemy of Pole, whom she regarded as her best champion. Yet of all this not one word was breathed; she made him Chancellor and restored him to his see; he crowned her Queen and became her leading councillor. He at once set to work to restore the Catholic faith and, apparently without regret, ate his own words about the Papal Supremacy. In the first Parliament of the reign he tried to pass an Act declaring Elizabeth illegitimate, and Elizabeth seems to have been in more danger from his hostility than from Philip's or even Pole's. Finally, Gardiner laboured assiduously, but until the autumn of 1554 without success, to re-enact the statutes against 'heresy' which Somerset had repealed; yet, though he was obliged to preside over the first

Commission which sat to try heretics, none were burned during the reign from his own diocese of Winchester; and it is certain that he did his best to induce Cranmer and Latimer to fly to the Continent. Thus though the Protestants always labelled 'Wily Winchester' along with 'Bloody Bonner' as their two chief enemies, the charge against Gardiner of wholesale persecution must be pronounced doubtful. In political matters Gardiner's line appears more clear: he wanted to keep England free from Spanish influences and to marry the Queen to an Englishman, his candidate being Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon. But when this proved impossible he acquiesced in the marriage of Mary and Philip of Spain, and even performed the rite in his own cathedral. He died in the autumn of 1555.

It is natural that a man who had played so many parts should have pleased few, yet the universal testimony of contemporaries as to Gardiner's double-dealing is too strong to be rejected, and, though there are in him traits of a patriotic Englishman, there is also too much which can only be accounted for on the theory of pure self-seeking to permit of a favourable judgement being passed on his character.

ELIZABETH

(1533-1603)

daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, was born at Greenwich on September 7th. Cranmer was her godfather and Lady Bryan her first governess. On her father's third marriage she was declared illegitimate, as her sister Mary had already been, but she was too young to feel the effects of this before, at the age of eleven, her name was put back into the order of succession next after Mary's. Among her tutors were Sir John Cheke, the first scholar of the age, Roger Ascham, and William Grindal. Her best friend in childhood was Henry's last Queen, Katharine Parr. In her household Elizabeth resided after her father's death, and was there infamously courted by Thomas Seymour, who had married the widowed Queen. Seymour probably designed to marry her, and she is said to have cried when he was executed (1549). During the rest of Edward's reign she lived either at Hatfield or at Ashridge, but was often at Court with her brother and pursued her studies with him. As she conformed readily to all ecclesiastical changes, the fall of Somerset did not make to her the difference that it made to her sister Mary; but, in common with Mary, she was excluded from the succession by Edward's final devise of the crown in June 1553. On his death, therefore, she rode by her sister's side triumphantly into London, after the collapse of the effort of Northumberland to maintain Jane Grey, and, though Mary could hardly have felt kindly to the daughter of Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth, who conformed readily to the restoration of the Mass, was in no danger until the hatred felt for Mary's projected Spanish match led to Wyatt's revolt in

the first days of 1554. Then she was in very grave danger, for the object of that revolt was to place her and Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, on the throne. How much Elizabeth knew is uncertain; she had steadily refused all her life—and she was now nearly 21—to compromise herself in political movements. She was sent to the Tower in March and then to Woodstock, for six months of fairly close restraint, from May to December. But Philip, who had married Mary in July, always showed himself her friend, and probably protected her on more than one occasion during the reign. She visited her sister at the end of the year 1554, and again, during Philip's second visit to England, in 1557; the rest of her time she passed either at Ashridge or Hatfield. There she practised a rigid economy and learned from William Cecil, with whom she kept a close correspondence, lessons of statecraft and dissimulation. In Mary's last months Philip insisted that Elizabeth should be recognized as heir to the throne, and, even before his Queen's death, let her know that he was ready to marry her.

That death on November 17, 1558, called to the throne of England a splendid young woman of twenty-five, who had all the virility, all the intellectual power, all the strong will of Henry VIII; much of the coarseness of Anne Boleyn; and more still of the foresight, caution and parsimony of her grandfather Henry VII. Her character as well as her actions were a standing puzzle to her contemporaries; yet, when she seemed to be most guided by pure caprice, her foresight and her subtlety often turned out to have produced results for which no one else could have schemed successfully.

No sovereign ever was confronted with such difficulties at accession; an empty treasury, a frightfully debased coinage; the loss of Calais not a year old; a rival candidate for the throne, Mary of Scotland, with all the power of France at her back; a doubtful ally in Philip of Spain; a people torn by religious divisions. Whichever way Elizabeth turned it seemed as if she must offend half Europe



QUEEN ELIZABETH

From the portrait at Ditchley belonging to the Viscount Dillon

and half her own subjects. Her reign may be conveniently divided into three parts ; during the first of these she successfully established the new Church on the basis of moderate Protestantism which it has retained ever since, she compelled fanatics on both sides to accept it or to keep silence ; she began her skilful system of underhand support to rebels in France, Scotland and the Netherlands ; and she managed to defer open quarrel or open alliance with any European power. But with the flight of the Scottish Queen to England (1568), the rebellion of the North in that Queen's favour (1569) and her own excommunication in 1570, the second period begins, and the dangers gather thickly round England and the Queen. The Papal-Catholic propaganda has assumed very large proportions, and its aim is the reconversion of England and the death of Elizabeth. Mary is a centre for all disaffection. Happily, France is too jealous of Spain and too much torn by civil war, the Catholics of Europe are too much in want of any one leader for them to combine to crush England, whose people rise to the occasion and become, in spite of their Queen's seeming vacillation, more and more openly the leaders of the Protestant cause in Europe. Scotland is by no means safe as yet ; yet, as James grows to manhood, the dangers from Scotland do on the whole abate. But, in proportion as France hangs back from Mary, Philip draws away from Elizabeth, whose sailors begin to plunder his colonies and to steal his treasure ships. His ambassadors are involved in Mary's intrigues, conducted from her various English prisons, and in murder-plots against Elizabeth, of which Mary is at least cognizant. The apparently charmed life of the Queen, who is nobly indifferent to personal dangers, comes to be identified with the religion, the prosperity and the independence of her island realm. Then in 1587 comes the execution of Mary—the Queen cannot but consent though she pretends to be furious at it—and Philip's last scruples are gone. The third period begins when his Armada is scattered to the winds of heaven and the waves of the Atlantic by the superior construction, handling and gunnery of the

English fleet, and the infinitely superior seamanship of the English sailors. In this great victory the Queen has, in the light of historical research, little demonstrable share ; but to her contemporaries she is the guiding spirit of the whole. She becomes 'Gloriana', an idol aloft on a shrine. Really, she becomes a lonely, selfish, scolding old woman, who refuses to take advantage of the triumph, and above all to pay a penny that she can avoid paying. Diplomatic intrigue becomes to her an end in itself, and she even refuses to believe for the rest of her reign that she is at war with the King of Spain. Her great councillors, one by one, drop from her side,—the greatest of them, William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, not till 1598. She outlives even her life-long rival Philip. Her favourites and her innumerable suitors, too, are all gone ; the most favoured, Leicester, in 1588 ; the last of them, Essex, she has to behead for actually attempting an insurrection against her in 1600. Yet she keeps up the game to the last ; she hunts, goes on progress, hurls torrents of elegant Latin or still more elegant Italian at Ambassadors, and occasionally replies in very fair Greek to gentlemen of the University ; above all, she dances, dresses, rouges and bejewels herself till she has one foot in the grave. The end comes on March 24, 1603 : no English sovereign before her had attained such patriarchal years.

The only answer that can be given to the strange problem that Elizabeth's career presents, is that she embodied, not by her own merit but by the accidents of her position, the wishes of the enormous majority of the English nation ; on Parliament rested her own legitimacy and the whole of her new Church settlement ; on the ungrudging votes of Parliament rested her final resistance to Spain. And her intellect was of that masculine type that fully fitted her to take advantage of this intensely national position, and yet to pretend that she was ruling as an absolute sovereign ; to scold and yet to agree with her people ; to let them act in her name and to bear the cost of their own actions, and yet to claim the glory of those actions when successful and to repudiate them when it was convenient to do so.

With all her scholarship, intellect and intellectual graces, Elizabeth at heart cared little for letters: she endowed no colleges, she favoured no learned men; of the arts—unless we can class as arts the painting of her own portrait, and that of dress which she elevated to a barbaric fine art—music alone appealed to her. Thus, while she roared with laughter at Falstaff in the buck-basket, there is no reason to suppose that she would have wept for Desdemona or Ophelia, if she had lived long enough to witness Shakespeare's greatest tragedies. What she loved was hunting and strong ale, adulation, show and revelry; and she would flirt outrageously with any handsome man. She slept—for personal dangers were never far away—with a drawn sword by her bedside, and we may well believe that she would have known how to use it if occasion had arisen.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

(1542-1587)

only surviving child of James V and Mary of Guise, was born at Linlithgow a week before her father's death, December 7th. The story of her life, although lacking in the highest elements of tragedy which overshadowed the life of her contemporary Mary Tudor, has always attracted attention from its essential sadness, and has long been the battle-ground of rival historians. Mary was the child of misfortune. 'It came' (the crown of Scotland) 'with a lass, and it will go with a lass,' said her father, dying of a broken heart after the defeat and disgrace of Solway Moss. But Mary's gallant mother strove for eighteen years to keep that crown for her daughter, and with it the French alliance with which the whole history of old Scotland was bound up. The child was crowned at Stirling in her ninth month, and, after overtures had been made both by Henry VIII and the Protector Somerset for a marriage between her and Edward VI,—overtures naturally fruitless because the English endeavoured to back them up by bloody raids and invasions,—she was sent in 1548 to France as the affianced bride of the Dauphin. There for twelve years her upbringing was wholly French, and it must be sadly confessed that she remained a French-woman rather than a Scot to the end of her life. Of her natural gifts, refined by a brilliant though not solid education, there can be no doubt, any more than of her great personal charm and beauty. But, when her marriage to the Dauphin actually took place in 1558, she signed, with her eyes open, a deed making over the crown of Scotland, in the event of her own death without heirs, to the French King. The 'old alliance' of Scotland and France was



MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

From a drawing attributed to François Clouet in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

already tottering and this deed was enough to shatter it. When Mary Tudor died later in that same year, Mary and her husband took the title of King and Queen of England and Ireland in addition to that of Scotland, and on the death of Henry II in 1559 the title of France was naturally added. Elizabeth, however, promptly protested against the former assumption, and interfered in Scotland to such effect that the Scottish Lords repudiated their Queen's claims on England by the treaty of Edinburgh, 1560. And at the end of that year, by the death of her first husband, Mary ceased also to be Queen of France. Could she hope even to retain Scotland? It seemed doubtful, for the Protestant Lords were negotiating for a marriage between Elizabeth and Mary's heir presumptive, the Earl of Arran. Yet much would depend upon the young Queen herself. In August 1561 she returned, a widow of nineteen, to rule the most turbulent country of Europe. For four years she set herself the task of conciliating enemies and strengthening friendships, and by no means without success. Though officially and by upbringing the champion of the Catholic faith, Mary was no fanatic, and though she was often insulted by Knox and other fanatic Protestants, and though all the offices in Scotland were filled by avowed Protestants, she succeeded by politic measures in retaining for herself the use of the Mass in her chapel. It is quite possible therefore that, but for her constant hopes of the English crown, Mary might have proved a good Scottish Queen. But from the first the idea of either dethroning, or at all events succeeding the 'bastard' Elizabeth was dominant in her breast; and this she could only expect to realize by the help of some great Catholic power. So Mary hawked herself, and was hawked by her friends, about the marriage-market of Europe quite as much as Elizabeth hawked herself, and we ought to allow a great deal of weight to the mere personal rivalry between two handsome women which such a quest engendered, although it must be admitted that Elizabeth had the advantage, in that she did not intend to marry, whereas Mary did. At the end of this first period, that is to

say in 1565, Mary was fairly firm on her throne and fairly good friends with Elizabeth. Then she fatally embroiled her cause by marrying, against the advice of all her best friends in France and Scotland, Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, the great-grandson of Henry VII and next-best heir after herself to the English (though not to the Scottish) throne. It was a deliberate challenge to the English settlement; and Elizabeth was furious and alarmed. Yet, could Mary's own violent passions have been kept in restraint, it might in time have become possible for the Catholics to have espoused the cause of herself and Darnley with some effect. But after a few months of real affection, Mary discovered that her new husband was vicious, a poltroon and a fool, and grew to hate him intensely. Elizabeth played skilfully on Mary's half-brother the Earl of Moray, who was head of the Protestant interest, and got him to raise an insurrection, which when it was easily suppressed she disavowed. Then in rapid succession followed the great acts in the tragedy. Darnley murdered Mary's Italian secretary Rizzio, March 1566; her only child, Prince James, was born in June; Darnley himself was murdered, at least with her connivance, in February 1567; in April the Queen threw herself into the arms of his principal murderer, the Earl of Bothwell, and married him in May; Scotland rose against her and Bothwell in June, such troops as she could raise were beaten at Carberry Hill, and before the month was out the Queen was a prisoner in Lochleven Castle. There she signed an act of abdication in favour of her infant son, who was crowned as James VI, and the Catholic cause in Scotland was dead for ever.

Ten months later Mary escaped from the island-fortress, and the family of Hamilton raised some troops for her cause. These were beaten at Langside in May 1568, and the Queen fled to England, to seek from Elizabeth not an asylum but vengeance on her rebel lords. That astute female had no intention of granting her prayer. For nearly nineteen years Mary remained in confinement, more or less close, in various castles in the north of England,

while, as James grew into youth and manhood, the waves of the tempest she had raised in Scotland gradually subsided. But in England her presence was an incessant source of such danger that we can hardly blame Elizabeth if she took any and every means of neutralizing it. At first she professed to allow an inquiry to be held into the question of Mary's guilt in the murder of Darnley: it was then that the Scottish lords, who appeared against their Queen, produced copies of the famous 'casket letters', said to have passed between her and Bothwell; but, when enough had been disclosed to blacken Mary's character, Elizabeth stopped the inquiry. Several eligible Catholics from time to time presented themselves as candidates for the prisoner's hand, the most serious being the Duke of Norfolk in 1569; Don John of Austria, nine years later, was another. But Elizabeth and her watchful ministers outwitted them all, and outwitted also several successive murder-plots in which, unfortunately for her fame, the Queen of Scots was engaged. As England drew nearer and nearer to open war with Spain and to friendship with France, the King of Spain became more and more Mary's one hope, and to him, as the tragedy drew to its close, she finally bequeathed her claims upon the British Islands.

The end came in this way: an Association to protect Elizabeth's life and to revenge her death, if she were murdered, was signed by all leading Englishmen in 1584. An Act of Parliament ratified it, and declared that any person in whose favour any attempt at such murder were made, should be deprived of right to the succession and should be brought to trial before a special Commission. In October 1586, such a Commission sat to try Mary on such a charge in Fotheringhay Castle, and unanimously pronounced her to be guilty. After long hesitation Elizabeth signed her death-warrant and Mary was beheaded on February 8, 1587, meeting her fate with consummate dignity and bravery. One can hardly be surprised at her attitude during the years of her captivity, but for the fatal deeds of 1567 it is difficult to find any excuse.

JOHN KNOX

(1505-1572)

son of William Knox and Margaret Sinclair, was born at Haddington and educated there and at the University of Glasgow; but, though he once lamented his ignorance of Hebrew, there is no evidence that he knew any Greek or that he was in any special degree a scholar. His literary fame, such as it is, is owing to his vigorous use of vernacular Scots, which became in his hands the most powerful and picturesque of languages. He appears to have taken minor orders early, and to have acted as a notary-public, which profession would indicate some knowledge of the Civil law. Our main information about his career is always his own 'History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland', the first part of which was published in 1584 and the remainder, with Buchanan's glosses, sixty years later.

He was acting as tutor to some young gentlemen in 1544-5-6 when he made the acquaintance of Wishart the reformer, burned for heresy in the latter year by Cardinal Beaton, who three months later was murdered in revenge for this execution. The murderers held Beaton's castle of St. Andrews against a siege and were there joined by Knox, who was 'called' to preach to them. In 1547 the castle capitulated to a French siege and to the Regent of Scotland, and Knox was sent to the French galleys, where he remained for eighteen months. His labours with the oar could not have been severe, as he was able to write letters and theological pamphlets while on board. On being released he came to England and held forth to a congregation of the reformed faith at Berwick. In 1551 he was made



JOHN KNOX

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

a royal chaplain, took part in the revision of the Prayer Book (1552) and was offered the Bishopric of Rochester, which he 'scrupled' and finally spurned. At the end of 1553 (after six months of Queen Mary) he fled to France with his wife Marjory Bowes, whom he had married in the previous July. Early in 1554 he made his way to Geneva and Zurich, where he met Calvin and Bullinger. From one of these retreats, or from France, he issued in July 1554 his 'Faithful Admonition to the Professors of Gods faith in England', directed against Mary Tudor's Spanish marriage. At Frankfort in the latter half of that year he received a 'call' to preach to a congregation of English refugees, but got into dispute with a certain Dr. Cox and was obliged to return to Geneva. In 1555 he was again at Dieppe in France, and thence made a nine months' preaching-tour in Scotland, where, during his absence, the Reformation had made great strides. He now became acquainted with the leading Scottish nobles, whose zeal for Protestantism was quickened by the prospect of dividing the spoils of the old Church; and, during the same time, he fatally undermined the influence of the Regent, Mary of Guise. Whether increasing danger from her side, or a fresh 'call' from Geneva urged him, he quitted Scotland in the summer of 1556, and the trembling Scottish bishops were reduced to burning him in effigy; and in Geneva he principally remained, maturing at the feet of Calvin his ideas of Church discipline until his final return to Scotland in 1559. Once at least, he was invited by the Scots lords to return, got as far as Dieppe and then thought better of it. From Geneva he issued in 1558 his 'First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women' directed at the address of the Queens of England and Scotland and the Queen-Dowager-Regent of the latter country. He forgot that Elizabeth might soon be Queen of England; Elizabeth did not forget the 'First Blast'. Finally he came back to Scotland in April 1559, organized the Protestant party for open war, preached publicly the destruction of idols and idolatry and saw before his

eyes the monuments of old Scottish art and piety hurled to the ground by the 'rascal multitude'. The Regent defended herself bravely to the last, but when Elizabeth for her own safety's sake was compelled against her will to send aid to the Scottish reformers, the Catholic cause in Scotland was as good as lost, and with it ended the life of the Regent and the old alliance of France and Scotland (1560). A Parliament in Edinburgh in that year established the new faith according to the Genevan model, although it must be said to Knox's credit that he always protested against the complete spoliation of the Church which accompanied the change. He would fain have saved decent stipends for the new 'presbyters', and ample funds to promote education; but he and the new Church were forced to pay the penalty of their alliance with the greedy nobles. Knox managed to get through a 'Book of Common Order', which was a kind of liturgy, but his next few years were spent in his famous struggle to put down the use of the Mass in the chapel of Queen Mary, who (after the death of her first husband) returned to her country as Queen-Dowager of France in August 1561. For four years the great preacher and the able young Queen faced each other boldly, and the victory was not always with Knox. Had Mary's fatal passions not got the better of her judgement, she might have conciliated a moderate party even in a country divided by such savage family feuds. But after Mary's marriage in 1565, the tragedy of Rizzio-Darnley-Bothwell rapidly unfolded itself, and in neither of the murders can Knox's hand be traced: he was in fact absent in England when the King was killed, and his next appearance is when he preached the coronation sermon for little James after his mother's abdication (1567). With the Regent Moray, Knox had not always lived upon good terms, but he now energetically supported his government and did all that he could to prevent any temporizing with the exiled Queen: indeed he seems to have written to Cecil to beg him to put her to death. After the murder of Moray Knox's political influence declined, but he still ruled the Church

with a rod of iron. During his last years he was in constant ill health, and used to get up from his bed only to preach; when once in the pulpit, however, his strength seemed to return, and at the end of the sermon he seemed 'lyk to ding that pulpit in blads and flee out of it'. He died in his home in the High Street, Edinburgh, in 1572; his first wife had died in 1560, and early in 1564 he had married Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree: from one of his daughters by her the wife of Thomas Carlyle was lineally descended.

Knox's character is a perfectly simple one: he was quite fearless and honest in his intolerance; he was ready to condone murder if he believed it were for the benefit of 'Christ's Kirk'; he was the champion, although perhaps not such an extreme one as some of his successors, of the supremacy of that Kirk over the State; in private life he was often humorous and occasionally tender; he did not condemn all amusements and was sometimes known to play golf.

WILLIAM CECIL

(1520-1598)

first Lord Burghley, son of Richard Cecil and Jane Heckington, was born at Bourne in Lincolnshire. His grandfather had risen, in the service of Henry VII and Henry VIII, to the position of a rich country gentleman, and his father, in the service of the latter King, was further enriched with a good deal of monastic land in the North-Eastern midlands. William entered as a student of St. John's Cambridge in 1535 and resided six years at the University. He became an excellent scholar and a warm friend of John Cheke, the greatest 'Grecian' of his time. In 1541 he left Cambridge for the bar, and in the same year married Mary Cheke, the sister of his friend. She died in 1544, and in 1545 Cecil married another lady famous for her learning—Mildred Cooke, daughter of Edward VI's preceptor, and sister of Anne Cooke who became the mother of Francis Bacon. The Duke of Somerset made Cecil his private secretary in 1547 and reposed complete trust in him. Soon after Somerset's fall in 1550, Cecil, who was for a moment involved in his ruin, made his peace with Warwick, was made Secretary of State in 1550, knighted in 1551 and became Chancellor of the Garter in 1552. Though he outwardly complied with the measures of the detestable government of the last three years of Edward VI, his private journal enables us to see how much he loathed his masters. He signed, with the rest of the Council, the document by which Edward attempted in June 1553 to change the succession, but by a certain amount of quibbling contrived to reconcile himself to Mary after the failure of the scheme. He held no office but incurred no disgrace



WILLIAM CECIL, FIRST BARON BURGHLEY, K.G.

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts

during the Catholic reaction, and he evidently made no difficulty about going to mass. In the autumn of 1554 he was sent to help in escorting Cardinal Pole to England, and in the following spring was again employed on a diplomatic mission. He even sat in one Marian Parliament (that of October 1555). But it is evident that all through Mary's reign he had been gradually attaching himself to the fortunes of the Princess Elizabeth, and on her accession he was immediately appointed to his old office of Secretary of State. This he held until in 1572, having already been created Lord Burghley, he exchanged it for the Treasurership, then the highest post in the service of the Crown: but virtually for the first forty years of Elizabeth's reign he was, under whatever title, Prime Minister of England. It is a constant theme of dispute between rival schools of historians how much of the success of that reign was due to Cecil and how much to the Queen herself. But it would be, in any case, a mistake to assume that Cecil's position was always a secure one. The Earl of Leicester remained, until his death in 1588, a constant thorn in his side. The Queen's amazing instability in dealing with foreign nations, and especially with proposals of marriage, kept him continually in anxiety. His own leanings were evidently for a 'conservative' attitude in European politics, for peace and for the maintenance of the old alliance with Spain; and, on the whole, it is probable that the Queen leaned in the same direction. But, as time went on, there grew up a school of courtiers who clamoured for war and for an alliance with France, and there seemed to be, between 1570 and 1578, a serious danger that the Queen would make a French marriage. Cecil's own best political friend, Sir Francis Walsingham, who succeeded him in the Secretaryship, was avowedly for open war with Spain. When that war was at last forced on England after the execution of Mary Stuart, an event for which the Queen scolded and almost disgraced her faithful minister, Lord Burghley was cold and slow to follow up the providential success gained over the Armada: and here the Queen agreed with him

thoroughly. So, during the last ten years of his long life, he appeared to the younger generation of 'Elizabethans' as the drag on the wheel. His second son, Robert Cecil, afterwards first Earl of Salisbury, succeeded to Walsingham's Secretaryship and carried out his father's policy of caution. Burghley died in 1598. When one examines the history of the reign, one is driven to the conclusion that, whether his was the brain that planned or merely the hand which executed the measures, internal and external, religious and secular, by which England was rescued from the dangers and disgraces of Mary's reign, enormous credit is due to him. Few statesmen ever had a harder task and few have displayed greater foresight and resolution in carrying it out.

In private life Lord Burghley, who became on his father's death in 1552 a very rich man, was noted for the splendour and elegance of his buildings and gardens, for his love of books, for his indefatigable industry and for his wise and tender affection for his family. The only weakness of which he is accused is his passion for manufacturing for the house of Cecil a pedigree which could not be proved.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

(d. 1596)

was probably born in Devonshire about 1540, and was almost certainly of kin to a gentle family of Drakes of that county. Hardly anything certain is known of him until he appears as engaged in the trade to the Guinea coast in 1565; two years later, he leaped into fame as commander of a ship in the squadron of his kinsman Hawkins, trading, in defiance of prohibitions, to Spanish America. Hawkins and Drake were treacherously set upon in the harbour of St. Juan de Lua and all their vessels but two were destroyed; on their return they moved the English government to demand redress, but, failing in this, decided to recoup themselves by 'piratical' expeditions against Spanish commerce. In 1570, 1571, 1572, Drake made three successive voyages to the West Indies, and, on the third of these, took and sacked the town of Nombre de Dios, then the Atlantic dépôt of the gold and silver from the mines of the Pacific coast. Much of the plunder of the town had to be abandoned owing to a severe wound received by Drake in the attack, but much was gained and brought home, and it was upon this voyage that Drake for the first time saw from the top of a great tree the Pacific Ocean and vowed to sail an English ship on it. In 1577, therefore, he undertook, in his famous ship the *Pelican* or *Golden Hind* of 100 tons, and with four smaller vessels, the passage to the 'South Seas' by the Straits of Magellan. In the course of this voyage, in which he was deserted by one ship, lost another in a storm, and had to break up the other two as unseaworthy, Drake successfully accomplished the dangerous passage,

was driven south as far as latitude 57°, sailed up the Pacific coast of South America, plundered Valparaiso, took the *Cacafuego* (the richest prize in history) and cruised north as far as San Francisco: then, thinking it safer not to return by the Straits, struck, without chart or pilot, across the Pacific to the Ladrone Islands. Off Celebes the *Golden Hind* stuck on a rock for twenty hours, floated off unhurt, touched at Java and again at Sierra Leone and finally reached England, laden with spices as well as with Spanish treasure, in September 1580. The Spanish ambassador, naturally enough, demanded that the crew should be hanged as pirates; but Elizabeth was able to prove that the Spaniards were perpetually stirring up insurrections in Ireland and England against her government and treating English ships in much the same way as Drake had treated Spanish. Further, she asserted the right of Englishmen to sail any seas, in defiance of the Spanish claim to regard the Pacific as a *mare clausum*; and she emphasized her protest by knighting Drake.

In 1582 the successful adventurer became Mayor of Plymouth, and also, unofficially, the government's chief adviser on naval affairs: he sat in Parliament in 1585, and in the autumn of that year was sent in command of twenty-five sail to exact in Spanish America reprisals for the embargo which Philip had just laid on all English ships. On that voyage Drake plundered Vigo in Spain, then crossed the Atlantic and took and held to ransom San Domingo, Carthagena and several towns in Florida, relieved and brought home the first colonists of Virginia, and returned to England in the summer of 1586. In the following spring he was sent to repeat his exploits in the harbours of Spain herself, where ships were now being openly prepared for the invasion of England: he pushed right into Cadiz and sank, burned or carried away thirty-eight ships: if the Queen had allowed him to go on and do the same thing in Lisbon the Armada would never have been able to sail when it did. In the defeat of that fleet, when it came at last, Drake's share was the primary one, and he was constantly urging the government to greater



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

From a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard belonging to the
Earl of Derby. (Enlarged from original)

and greater exertions by sea. In the 'Counter Armada' of 1589 he was less successful, but managed to burn the shipping and part of the town of Coruna. Troops were landed for an attack on Lisbon, which failed, and Drake was accused of staying outside the harbour picking up prizes. For the next five years there is little trace of his activity, and his last expedition (1595) with Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies was utterly unsuccessful. The Spaniards were forewarned and every port in America was fortified. Hawkins died off Porto Rico and Drake off Porto Bello; he was buried at sea.

Drake was essentially the greatest of all the Elizabethan sailors, a man ready for any adventure, beloved and followed by his men, yet absolute master on his own deck: a man, moreover, of the highest practical intelligence in all walks of life, and of this no better example can be given than the 'leat' which still bears his name and still carries the pure water of Dartmoor to the town of Plymouth. His letters are models of shrewd common sense, and many picturesque touches in them are still remembered.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH

(d. 1618)

son of Walter Raleigh and Katharine Champernowne, was born about 1552 at Hayes, near Budleigh Salterton in Devon, being of kindred to the leading Devon families and half-brother of Sir Humphry Gilbert. He spent, it is said, three years at Oriel College, Oxford, but, as he was about the same time fighting in the Huguenot wars in France, it is difficult to see where he picked up his extensive and accurate knowledge of classics, mathematics and natural science. But by some means or other he became, as his *History of the World* proves, one of the most learned men of a learned age. He took part as commander of a vessel in Sir Humphry Gilbert's piratical expedition of 1578, and on his return made the acquaintance of Leicester, who probably then first introduced him at Court. Most of 1580-1 he spent in Ireland helping to put down the 'Desmond' rebellion in Munster, and his favour with the Queen dates from his return from Ireland at the end of the latter year. That favour appears to have been, in Raleigh's case more than in that of many others, especially disastrous: Elizabeth loved to have him at her side, and showered gifts and offices upon him, although never to an extent to satisfy his ambition and his need for money: again and again she prevented him from going to the wars or on expeditions to America, and indeed it would not be far wrong to accuse her of having 'spoiled' one of the finest characters that her age produced. She recognized his ability at once, and he became her principal adviser as to the affairs of Ireland, where he received enormous grants of land, and where he pushed on the scheme of 'plantations', a scheme which really led him to his great idea of the



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

From the portrait by Zuccaro in the National Portrait Gallery

first English Colony in America, as well as to his intimate friendship with the poet Spenser. The plans which he conceived for the foundation of 'Virginia' date from the expedition which he sent thither in 1584; and, though the first two establishments were failures, and though Raleigh lost the enormous sums which he had 'ventured' in them, the ultimate realization of the conception in the reign of James I was due to his original scheme. The civilized world owes to Raleigh the true colonial idea; it owes to him also, if not the actual discovery, at least the introduction and use of the two greatest vegetables of the earth, tobacco and potatoes. In the Armada year Raleigh seems to have been wholly busy with the organization of our land forces, and was not on board the victorious English fleet; but it was on the sea that his heart was set. In all the voyages of reprisal between 1589 and 1597 he adventured capital and ships, though too often the Queen prevented him from going on them in person: and, when he did go, his quarrelsome and insubordinate temper often led to disputes with the other commanders. Of the Queen's last favourite, the Earl of Essex, he was profoundly jealous, though always willing to acknowledge, as at Cadiz, his rival's splendid valour in the field. In 1592 the Queen disgraced and imprisoned him for marrying a maid of honour; but his wife, though often neglected when he had to pretend to be sighing at the feet of 'Cynthia' (Elizabeth, *aetat.* 60), remained a loyal and affectionate helpmate to him and afterwards shared his long confinement in the Tower. In 1595 he made a great expedition to Guiana and sailed for several hundred miles up the Orinoco, in search of the 'golden city of Manoa' and the country called 'Eldorado', and on his return wrote the *Discovery of Guiana*. In both the last great armadas sent against the Spaniards, those of 1596 and 1597, he played a leading and gallant part, but in the last three years of the life of his 'Cynthia' he was too busy for his honour in intriguing for the favour of her successor, James VI of Scotland. On this slippery path, if he outwitted Essex, he was quite outwitted by Robert Cecil,

and we gradually become aware that, rightly or wrongly, Raleigh was the most unpopular man at the English Court. James on his accession received him with marked coldness and at once deprived him of his office of 'Captain of the Guard'. In his rage at this treatment Raleigh may have known more than he should of obscure plots against the new King, in which his friend Lord Cobham was certainly involved; he was therefore brought to trial for high treason, and, after being told that he was a 'viper with a Spanish heart' and other unpleasant untruths, was condemned to death, respited and sent to the Tower for twelve years, 1603-15. There he was at least treated as leniently as was compatible with restraint, and there he began that magnificent torso called the *History of the World*, the first volume of which, extending to 130 B.C., was alone completed. It is famous far more for its skill in portraiture and its philosophical conception than even for its enormous mass of facts collected and well assimilated; and by itself it lifts Raleigh to a very high place among men of letters, as his few poetical remains do among poets. But the great adventurer was for ever longing, as old age drew on, to realize his conception of the wealth of Guiana or at least to strike one more blow at the effete colossus of Spain, and in 1615 he managed to persuade the King to give him his liberty and to allow him to try his luck once more on the Orinoco. James must have known, and did know perfectly well, that Raleigh would infringe the Spanish claim to monopolize the American coasts; in fact James betrayed the whole scheme to his friend the Spanish ambassador. The Guiana voyage was a complete failure from the first; Raleigh's crews were mutinous scoundrels, no gold mine was found, Raleigh's eldest son was killed, and, when the fleet returned, James was quite willing to send its commander to Madrid to be hanged as a pirate. The English Council, though hostile to Raleigh, would not stand this, and Raleigh, who had never received a pardon for his 'high treason' of 1603, was beheaded without further trial in 1618.

His character is a complex one: part of the hatred which he attracted is explicable from the fact that, in middle life, his passion for inquiry had led him into holding confidential intercourse with sceptics, but any charge of infidelity is easily disposed of by the deeply religious tone of the *History of the World*. Raleigh was, however, both greedy and unscrupulous, qualities which he shared with great numbers of the 'Elizabethans', but with none (if indeed there was any one) whose intellectual abilities were as great as his own except Francis Bacon. He was also untruthful to a marked degree; but he was a tender and affectionate husband; and he was the true author of the 'Expansion of England', the true founder of British America.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

(1564-1616)

son of John Shakespeare and Mary Arden, was born at Stratford-on-Avon. His father came of good yeoman stock and was a prosperous townsman of the little borough, in which he exercised various lucrative crafts and trades, all more or less dependent on agriculture, and in which he rose to hold successively the highest municipal offices. But before 1577 his fortune had begun to decline, owing perhaps to a passion for litigation, and he afterwards went through great misfortunes. Mary Arden, daughter and heiress of a substantial yeoman, was by blood connected with several families of gentle birth. William received his education from his seventh to his thirteenth year at the free school of Stratford, and he there acquired a 'clever schoolboy's' knowledge of Latin, but probably no Greek; French and Italian he must have learned later in London. His curious but somewhat contemptuous knowledge of the phraseology of English law he may easily have gained from the lawsuits in which his father, in adversity, and himself, in prosperity, were often engaged. His knowledge of open-air life, quite divorced from any technical acquaintance with botany, zoology or any other '-ology', he would readily gain from many a ramble in the green Midlands. Above all he had a splendid knowledge of horses, dogs and every form of field sport save one—although a Warwickshire man, he was not such a fool as to fish in the Avon. Tradition is probably quite right in making him an occasional, if not an inveterate, poacher; and his departure for London in 1585 may very well have been in consequence of too near an acquaintance with the keepers of Sir Thomas



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
From the Bust at Stratford-on-Avon

Lucy of Charlecote. But his unrivalled knowledge of the human heart and his divine power of expressing the same in immortal verse was a gift which he held directly from Almighty God.

In his nineteenth year Shakespeare married Ann Hathaway, the daughter of a small farmer, eight years older than himself, and his elder daughter Susanna was born within six months of the marriage. Twins, Hamnet and Judith, followed in 1585, and in that year the future poet disappeared from his home for eleven years. It seems probable that he went to seek his fortune in London, perhaps in the train of a company of players who may have been visiting Stratford. He is first known to have been in London in 1587, and almost certainly began, perhaps in some very humble capacity, an apprenticeship to the stage. But in spite of the acquaintance with low and even wild life which some of his plays indicate, in spite of the exceedingly bad reputation of theatrical persons at the time, in spite of powerful tradition that he was occasionally a hard drinker, all the evidence which we possess goes to show that Shakespeare was an eminently shrewd man, who went to London to make a competent fortune, and lived frugally until and even after he had made it; that his thoughts were ever turning back to his native Stratford, which he began to revisit regularly as soon as his fame and some money had been won (1596). In that year he relieved his struggling father, and in the next year purchased the most substantial house in the town, called New Place, to which in later years he added several other substantial if small properties, and in which he finally came to reside 'as a gentleman' in 1611 till his death. That he was helped towards the purchase by his patron the Earl of Southampton is traditionary and probable. Thus the great poet was before all things a practical man, so practical that some people have found it impossible to believe that such divine genius could have gone hand in hand with such a mercenary spirit. Attempts have even been made, mostly, it is true, by half-educated Americans, to prove that Lord Bacon wrote the plays attributed to

Shakespeare; such theorists forget that the innate baseness of Bacon's character renders his authorship far more improbable than that of the sturdy Warwickshire yeoman of whom nothing mean is recorded.

In London Shakespeare quickly acquired a reputation as a useful actor and a ready playwright, and came to be at last a substantial shareholder in the most popular theatre of the day, and a member of the company of actors which both Elizabeth and James specially delighted to honour and to reward. In the twenty years between 1591, the date of *Love's Labour's Lost*, and 1611, the date of *The Tempest*, he produced on an average two plays a year, almost every one of which has to be reckoned as immortal, and which, taken together, constitute the supreme literary treasure of the English language and the greatest literary inheritance of the English-speaking peoples. That he worked quickly, revised not at all, was careless of fame; that he borrowed his plots, that he adapted inferior work for the stage, here lending his splendid gifts to transform somebody else's sordid tragedy (*Titus Andronicus*), here spoiling his own most immortal creation of Falstaff to please the Queen (*Merry Wives of Windsor*), evidently seemed small matters to him: every one else did the like; but no one ever came near to him in his own craft, and if envy sometimes snarled at him, as his fellow dramatist Greene did, we may well believe that he passed it by with a smile. As Ben Jonson, who was too great not to trample down the envy he must have felt, tells us, 'he was indeed honest and of an open and free [we should now say of a sunny] nature'. But to a man who saw life as whole as Shakespeare saw it, the sun could not be always shining; and this great master of the human heart never showed his mastery so completely as in contemplating the tragedy which underlies all earthly life. No better division of his plays has ever been made than that of the 'four periods' allotted by Professor Dowden: 'in the workshop'; 'in the world'; 'out of the depths'; 'on the heights.' Yet no division can be exact; some

of the tenderest and finest comedy is found in the early plays as well as some of the deepest tragedy ; it seems as if it was quite as much in art as in comprehension of life that the poet grew from year to year ; and besides the plays we have to consider as early works not only *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, but the mysterious Sonnets, which contain the finest lyric poetry in our language.

Shakespeare made his will in February and died in April 1616 ; he is buried in the parish church of Stratford : his last living descendant, a granddaughter, died in 1670.

MARGARET OF ANJOU

(1430-1482)

Queen of Henry VI, fourth child of René, Duke of Anjou, and Isabella of Lorraine, was born at Nancy (?). Her father became successively Duke of Bar, Duke of Lorraine, Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence and titular King of Naples and Sicily. The young lady was therefore much sought after as a bride, and, in 1444, the Earl of Suffolk headed an embassy to ask her hand for his master, Henry VI: a marriage by proxy took place in that year and the consent of the King of France to the arrangement was obtained. She brought no dowry to the already impoverished English Crown, and it was believed, though without evidence, that Suffolk had agreed in the marriage contract to terms surrendering some of the fortresses which England still held in France. In 1445 she crossed the Channel and was married to Henry at Titchfield. Once in England, though only fifteen years old, she became a violent partisan of Suffolk and Beaufort against Gloucester and the war party; when these were gone two successive Dukes of Somerset became her favourites, and the policy of the Court, against the Duke of York, became her policy. Her only child, Prince Edward of Lancaster, was born in 1453, at the very time when her husband was suffering from his first mental and bodily collapse. She would never agree to the compromises and peaces which Henry was, on more than one occasion, ready to conclude with the Yorkists. When Margaret got the upper hand in the field she used her victory without mercy, and understood how to pack a Parliament which attainted her enemies wholesale. After Henry's defeat at Northampton she was found wandering on the borders of Wales, and was at least



MARGARET OF ANJOU

From a contemporary Manuscript in the British Museum



HUMPHRY DUKE OF GLOUCESTER

From a drawing attributed to Jacques le Baueq
in the Library of the town of Arras

once in danger of her life from robbers. From Wales she made her way in 1461 to Scotland, and surrendered Berwick to the Scots as the price of help. She was not present when her army of Northerners won the battle of Wakefield, but she rejoined her friends after the victory and advanced upon London with a large army which won the second battle of St. Albans. There, however, for some reason unknown, she stayed her hand, fell back northwards, and saw her forces annihilated and dispersed by Edward IV at Towton. She and Henry escaped from that field to Scotland, whence in 1462 she embarked for France to seek French help. King Louis XI was friendly and lent her a small force, with which she returned to Scotland. But it seems to have been of little use, for Margaret and her husband were soon reduced to the direst straits; and it was then, while wandering in a Northumbrian forest, that she met a ferocious robber and threw herself upon his generosity, not in vain, by revealing to him her rank and that of her young son. She was again on the Continent in the autumn of 1463, and received some rather unwilling charity from the Duke of Burgundy. She remained in Lorraine, a costly burden upon her father's charity, waiting always a chance to strike again at England, and occasionally travelling as far as the coasts of the Channel, until 1470, when the Earl of Warwick, who had finally broken with Edward IV, was reconciled to her by the mediation of Louis XI of France: but while Warwick sailed, in the Lancastrian interest, almost at once to England, Margaret delayed too long, and so allowed Edward IV, whom her friends had driven out, to return and reoccupy London. She finally landed at Weymouth in April 1471, the very day on which her new friend Warwick was beaten and slain at Barnet; Edward by a forced march fell upon her small army at Tewkesbury, annihilated it and slew her son. Margaret remained his captive in various English castles till 1475, when Louis XI stipulated for her release. Thenceafter she lived in the province of Anjou in extreme poverty until her death in 1482, and was buried in the cathedral of Angers.

Margaret was learned and fierce, a far truer product of the clever and cruel Angevin house than her gentle and scrupulous father, René ; she was devoted to hunting as well as to reading, and even in the days of her comparative prosperity was an importunate beggar of everything which she desired. Her career in England, whose rights and whose fortunes she was ready to sell to any one who would help her cause, was accompanied by unvarying misfortune for the Lancastrians, and most of all for her gentle and uncomplaining husband.

HUMPHRY DUKE OF GLOUCESTER

(1391-1447)

called 'the good' (but ought to have been called 'the bad') Duke Humphry, youngest son of Henry IV and Mary Bohun, was educated at Balliol College, and derives whatever good repute he has solely from his love of letters and his patronage of learning. For while he possessed in a pre-eminent degree, even in that bad age, the vices of licentiousness, excessive quarrelsomeness and popularity hunting, while his blind selfishness wrecked the policy of Henry V after that monarch's death and opened the way for the Wars of the Roses, he was an indefatigable collector of books, and began at Oxford the magnificent foundation on which Sir Thomas Bodley afterwards built his library. The main alley in the great reading-room of that library is still called after him, though hardly any of the books which he gave are now there. Italian as well as French and English scholars found in the Duke a patron—among them Aretino, who translated for him Aristotle's *Politics* into Latin. He even called one of his own bastard daughters by the classic name of Antigone.

As regards his political career, he was made a Duke by his brother, Henry V, fought and was wounded at Agincourt and fought through the second and third campaigns in the French war; acted as deputy for his brother Bedford, whom the Council appointed virtually to act as Regent in the minority of Henry VI, and, during the next twenty-five years, incessantly quarrelled with Cardinal Beaufort, his rival in his nephew's Council. By his foolish marriage with a princess

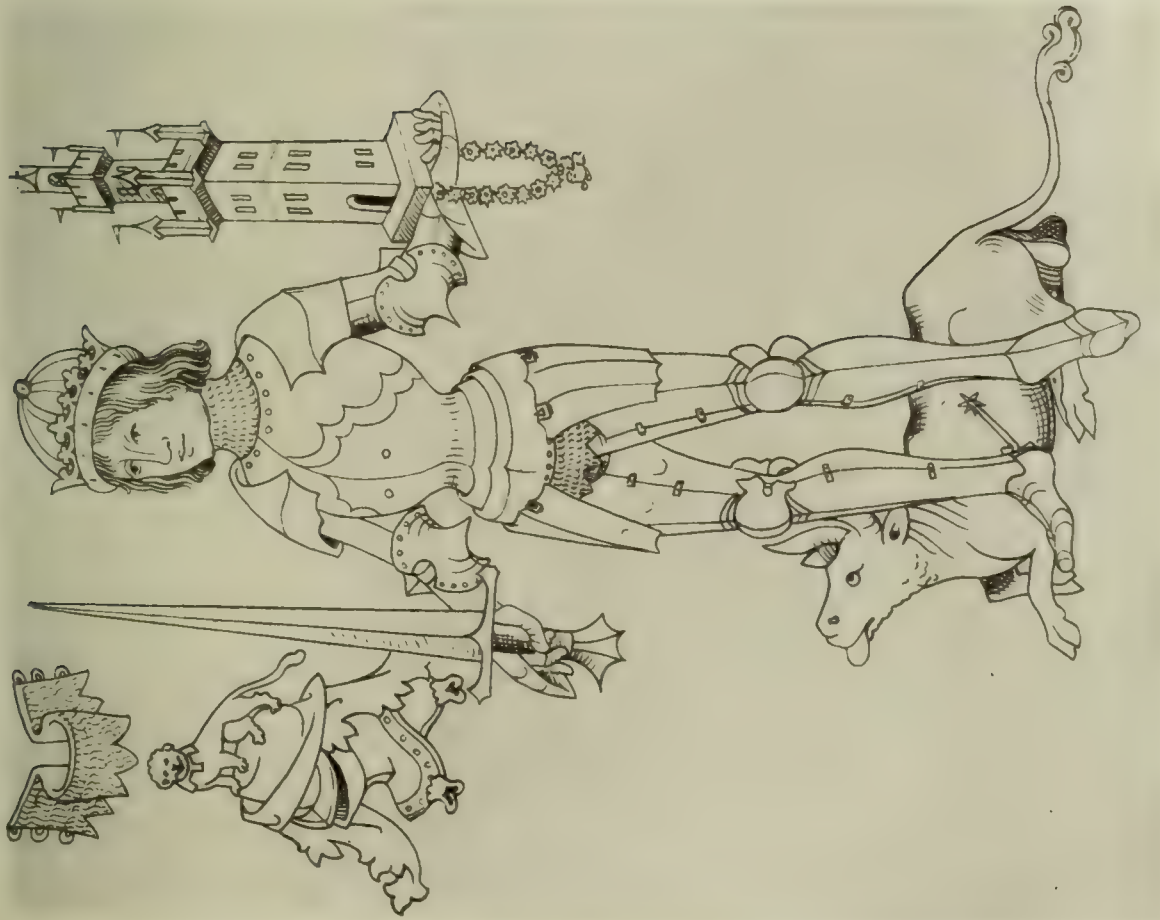
called Jacqueline of Hainault, Gloucester dealt the first blow to the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, and tried to grab the province of Hainault for himself. Failing in this, he deserted Jacqueline for Eleanor Cobham, and in 1428 got his first marriage annulled. By the death of his brother Bedford in 1435 he became heir to the throne; but his bolt was already shot. He allowed his wife Eleanor to be accused of witchcraft and to be compelled to do penance in the streets of London; and he acquiesced, though with a bad grace, in Henry VI's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, which meant the triumph of his rival's policy of peace with France. Although his death, which took place suddenly at Bury St. Edmunds three days after his arrest for high treason in February 1447, was unquestionably mysterious, and although suspicions of foul play were instantly raised against Queen Margaret, the Earl of Suffolk and the aged, and now dying Cardinal Beaufort, yet no evidence sufficient to warrant these suspicions has ever been brought forward.

GEORGE DUKE OF CLARENCE

(1449-1478)

son of Richard Duke of York and Cecily Neville, and younger brother of Edward IV, was born in Dublin, and was, until the birth of Prince Edward of York in 1471, heir presumptive to the crown. He early appeared as a suitor, though a very unlikely husband, for the heiress of the century, Mary of Burgundy ; but his sister-in-law, the Queen of England, is believed to have been steadily hostile to him, and it was not difficult for the Earl of Warwick to use him as a tool against King Edward. Warwick wedded Clarence to his own elder daughter, Isabel Neville, and made an insurrection with him in 1469. Though Edward was defeated by the insurgents at Edgecot, Warwick was hardly yet prepared to dethrone him, and it was not until Clarence was involved in the Lancastrian insurrection, which momentarily overturned Edward's throne in 1470, that the most serious features of the situation were manifest. The heir of the Lancasters was then married to Warwick's younger daughter ; but, in the settlement of the succession, his claims naturally preceded those of Clarence ; and that vacillating young man consequently hastened to reconcile himself with his brother. That brother returned in 1471, again as King Edward IV, and defeated all his enemies. Clarence seems to have been present on the Yorkist side at the final battle of Tewkesbury, and is believed to have there assisted his next brother, Richard, afterwards King Richard III, to murder Prince Edward of Lancaster. Richard married the widow of his victim, and he and Clarence forthwith quarrelled over the partition of the vast Neville inheritance : Edward interfered

decisively on the side of Richard. Clarence was present at Edward's futile campaign in France in 1475, and during the next three years appears to have been steadily heaping up causes of complaint against himself, largely by his frequent interference with the ordinary processes of justice in the law-courts, an offence known as 'maintenance'. Whether the King's jealousy was more stimulated by his wife's relations or by Richard of Gloucester is uncertain; but in January 1478 Clarence was attainted in Parliament of high treason, and 'disappeared privately' at the Tower in February. 'False, fleeting, perjured Clarence,' Shakespeare's verdict, probably sums up his character well.



GEORGE DUKE OF CLARENCE

From a lithograph of a drawing in a pictorial history of the Earls of Warwick
by John Rows of Warwick, edited by William Courthope
Somerset Herald in 1859

Face p. 100



RICHARD FOX

From a portrait at Lambeth Palace

RICHARD FOX

(d. 1528)

successively Bishop of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester, son of Thomas Fox, a yeoman of Lincolnshire, was probably born about 1448. He was one of the greatest of the statesmen who secured the throne of Henry VII, and also one of the earliest patrons of the New learning in England. The only important secular office he ever held was that of Privy Seal, but from 1485 to 1513, when he began to be ousted by the growing influence of Wolsey, he was one of the leaders at the Tudor council-board. He had been educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, met Henry VII during his exile in France and returned to England in his train. His main diplomatic feat was the negotiation of that marriage between James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor, which afterwards led to the union of the two crowns in the person of James VI and I. Though often differing from his fellow statesmen, such as Warham and Wolsey, he seems to have been respected by every one; and it was as executor of the good Lady Margaret Beaufort, whose wishes he helped to carry out by completing her great learned foundation of St. John's, Cambridge, that he first came in contact with the spirit of the Renaissance; and he subsequently earned immortal fame by establishing the first English readership in the Greek language in his own noble foundation of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (1515). Fox was blind for the last decade of his long life, but died without resigning his bishopric of Winchester.

MARGARET BEAUFORT

COUNTESS OF RICHMOND AND DERBY

(1441-1509)

commonly called Lady Margaret Beaufort, was the daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, son of John of Gaunt by Katharine Swynford. The Beaufort stock, though originally bastard, was legitimized by an Act of Parliament in Richard II's reign; thus, on the failure of the heirs of Henry VI, Margaret's claim to the crown of England became quite a possible one (1471). Such as it was, however, the Lancastrian title had originally rested, if on anything beyond usurpation or parliamentary election, on the exclusion of females. Henry VI always looked upon the Beauforts as possible heirs, and married Margaret in 1455 to his own half-brother, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Her son, afterwards Henry VII, was born in 1456, and her husband died in the same year. She soon married a son of the Duke of Buckingham and submitted to the Yorkist rule; but after the battle of Tewkesbury she was obliged to send her son Henry, now the sole hope of the Lancastrian cause, to seek refuge in Brittany. Margaret's third husband was a pronounced Yorkist, Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby; but his final defection from Richard III on the field of Bosworth secured the victory to his stepson, Henry VII. Margaret, though she seldom appeared at her son's court, remained, until her death in the same year with himself, his constant correspondent and one of his wisest advisers. She took vows of religion in 1504, but continued to live out of a nunnery, although she had founded several. Her great glory is, however,



MARGARET BEAUFORT
COUNTESS OF RICHMOND AND DERBY

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



ELIZABETH OF YORK
From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

her foundation of the two Colleges of Christ's and St. John's at Cambridge, and of the 'Lady Margaret' professorships of Divinity at both Universities. She was instigated to these foundations by the advice of John Fisher, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, one of the glories, as indeed Margaret herself also was, of Renaissance learning in England. Margaret was an ardent patron of the Early English Press, and her grandson Henry VIII's love of learning and books was no doubt a direct inheritance from her.

ELIZABETH OF YORK

(1465-1503)

Queen of Henry VII, the eldest child of Edward IV and Elizabeth Woodville, was born at Westminster. The first marriage that was arranged for her was with George Neville, but, when the Neville family deserted Edward's cause, this was broken off, and in 1475 she was solemnly promised to the Dauphin of France. The thought of this splendid alliance was no doubt one of the reasons which induced Edward to conclude the somewhat shabby peace of Pecquigny; and, when it became obvious that the French King had no intention of allowing it to be carried out, pure displeasure is said to have hastened his death. At the date of that death (April 1483) the Princess was with her mother, her younger brother and sisters in the Sanctuary at Westminster; and she remained there till March 1484, when Richard III, who had murdered her brothers, Edward V and Richard of York, and usurped the throne, induced the ladies to trust themselves to him: he is even said to have suggested that, when his own Queen died, he would marry Elizabeth. But the obvious marriage for her was that with the exiled heir of the House of Lancaster, Henry Earl of Richmond, and all peace-lovers, especially Bishop Morton of Ely, were constantly scheming for that end. There is some evidence that the Princess herself, who was in Yorkshire at the date of Henry's landing, was working secretly in his favour. It might almost be said to be a part of Henry's 'contract with the English people' that he should marry Elizabeth and so unite the rival Houses of York and Lancaster; but he was particularly anxious not to

appear to owe his crown to his wife, and therefore did not marry her until January 1486. From that time they remained a devoted and loving couple until Elizabeth's death.

Elizabeth bore to Henry seven children, four of whom lived to grow up: she died at the Tower in 1503, and was buried in 'Henry VII's Chapel' in Westminster Abbey.

JOHN COLET

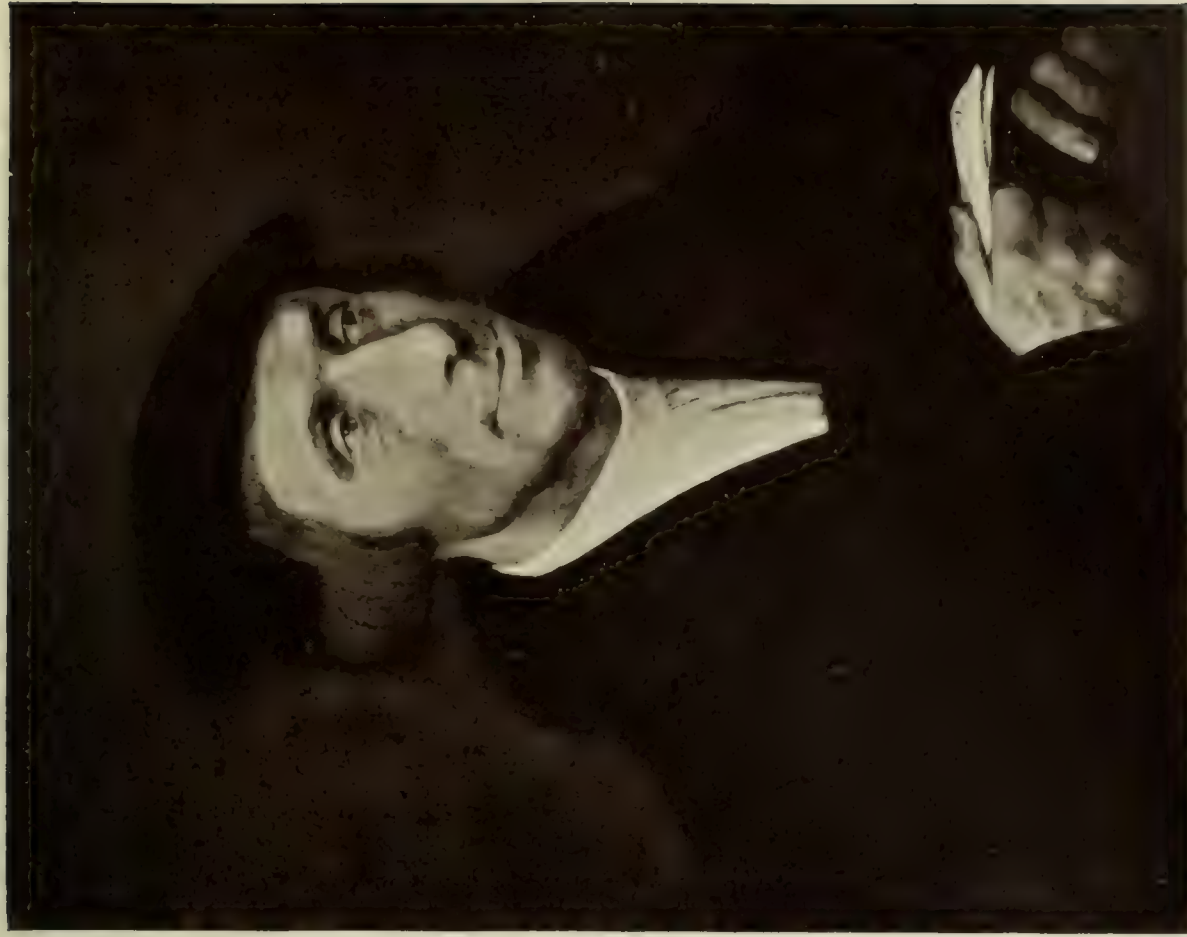
(1467-1519)

Dean of St. Paul's, son of Sir Henry Colet, Lord Mayor of London, and Elizabeth Knevet, was born in London and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford. He travelled to Italy in 1493, and there picked up some acquaintance with Greek; there also he became acquainted with Ficino, with Pico della Mirandola and perhaps with Savonarola himself. He returned to England in 1496, took orders and at Oxford in the years 1497-8 delivered that remarkable course of lectures upon the Epistles of St. Paul, which laid the foundation of all sound Scriptural criticism. He and Erasmus first met in 1498; Colet did all he could to induce the great scholar to take up his residence in England, and when, on his father's death, he became a rich man (1505) he gave Erasmus a pension. In 1504 Colet was made Dean of St. Paul's, and in that capacity first became intimate with Thomas More, though it is probable that they had already met in Oxford. The large fortune which Colet inherited from the deceased Lord Mayor was principally expended by him in the foundation of St. Paul's School, the first Public School of the New learning, in which Greek and classical, as opposed to ecclesiastical Latin were to be the main subjects of study. The foundation was commenced in 1509 and completed in 1518, the year before the Dean's death. Colet took the most elaborate pains both to compile and to get compiled sound school-books for its boys. His sermons in St. Paul's Cathedral, in which he openly denounced the unblushing corruption of his clerical contemporaries, had meanwhile got him into trouble with



DEAN COLET

From the portrait at Magdalen College, Oxford



THOMAS LINACRE

From the portrait in the possession of the Royal College of Physicians

the Bishop of London, who instituted a prosecution for heresy against him; it was even alleged that Colet had been so daring as to translate the Lord's Prayer into English! Archbishop Warham at once quashed the prosecution. In 1513 Colet preached before the Court and King, on the iniquity of war, and in particular of the French war in which Henry VIII was then engaged; but, when his enemies sought to rouse the King's wrath against him, Henry rewarded him by making him a royal chaplain. In 1514 Erasmus, who was again in England, accompanied Colet on a pilgrimage to Becket's shrine at Canterbury, where the Dean openly ridiculed the supposed virtue of the horrible relics of that 'martyr' which he was expected to venerate. Colet died in peace 1519, but it has always been an interesting question whether, had he lived fifteen years later, he would have been found on the side of his friend More, or with the more thoroughgoing reformers such as Latimer. Perhaps of all the early leaders of the movement his theological position came nearest to that of the Protestants. He entirely disbelieved in masses for the soul, image worship, pilgrimages and relics; he sought to free learning from the traditions of the 'Schoolmen' and to take his stand upon the doctrines of the 'Fathers' of the primitive Church.

THOMAS LINACRE

(d. 1524)

the great scholar and the first physician of the English Renaissance, was probably born at Canterbury about 1460. He was educated under William Selling, the pioneer of Greek learning in England, and in 1484 he appears as a Fellow of All Souls College, in Oxford; we do not know where his undergraduate career was passed. Soon after this he travelled to Italy and remained, perfecting himself in the study of Greek and of medicine, for some six years. He had the honour, on his return to Oxford, of teaching Greek to More, while Erasmus and Colet became his friends. In 1501 he was made Tutor to Prince Arthur, and in 1523 to the Princess Mary; he also took holy orders and held successively several rich livings, though none of them for any long period. In these various occupations he acquired a large fortune, which he destined for the foundation of medical lectureships at both Universities. It was not, however, until long after his death, in the reign of Edward VI, that the lectureships were founded; the present 'Linacre professorship' at Oxford is the outcome of the old scholar's foundation. He was almost as great a student of the ancient tongues as of medicine, and wrote voluminous works on both subjects; his main service to the latter is the recall of that study to the traditions of the Greek physicians and especially of Galen, many of whose works he translated into Latin.

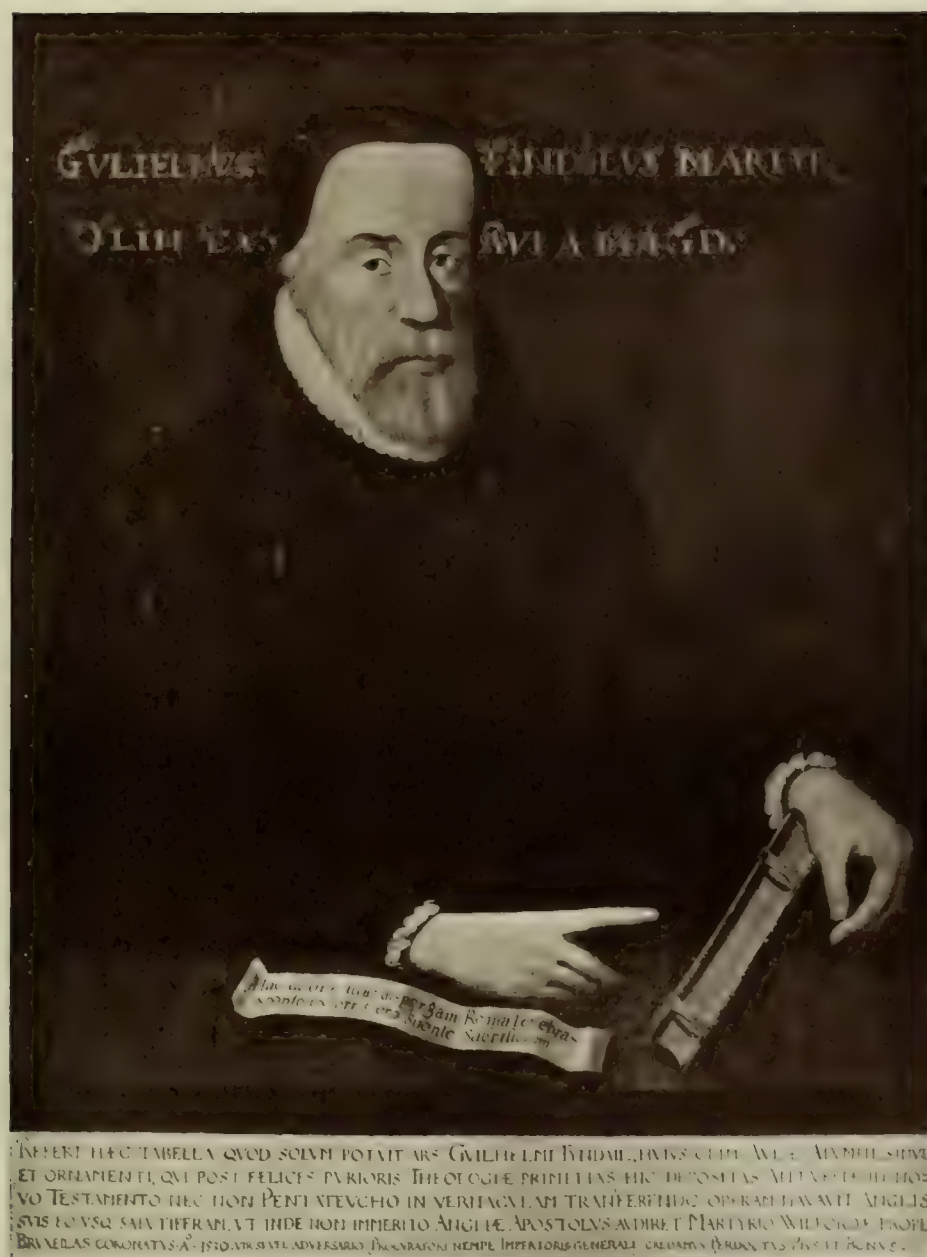
WILLIAM TYNDALE

(d. 1536)

reformer and martyr, came of a Gloucestershire family which had originally migrated from the North of England. He is found as a student of Magdalen Hall, at Oxford, as early as 1510: he took his M.A. degree in 1515 and then removed to Cambridge, where the recent Greek teaching of Erasmus was bearing excellent fruit; but we have no certain evidence that at either University he had directly committed himself to the cause of reform. It is, however, probable that the seeds of this had been sown in his mind, for we find him preaching with vigour at Bristol in 1522, and about that date he translated the *Enchiridion* of Erasmus. In 1523 he went to London, where he met John Frith, one of the early English martyrs, and in the next year to Germany. Here he visited Luther at Wittenberg and worked at his Translation of the New Testament, which he may have begun even before he came to London. The printing of the book commenced at Köln, but orders were issued from England to search for and buy up the sheets before it was completed, and it was finished on another press at Worms, the first copies probably reaching England in 1526. Even such a good man as Archbishop Warham could not tolerate the idea of the New Testament in English. Tyndale was hunted about the Continent by various agents of Wolsey and other English bishops, and spent some time at Marburg under the protection of the Protestant Landgrave of Hesse, his opinions rapidly developing from Lutheranism to Zwinglianism. At Marburg he published in 1528 *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, vindicating the Reformers from the charge of

civil disobedience. The Erastian tone of the book drew praise from Henry VIII, who might have protected the author had he not also fiercely attacked the Divorce in *The Practyse of Prelates* (1530). Meanwhile Tyndale was pressing on his Translation of the Old Testament, of which, however, he lived to print only the Pentateuch and the Book of Jonah. Sir Thomas More fell upon him in the year 1529, and the two enjoyed down to 1532 one of the most famous theological controversies on record. Henry, in 1531, tried to seize Tyndale's person on a charge of spreading sedition, and once managed to make him fly from Antwerp, to which city, however, he returned in 1534; there he powerfully influenced John Rogers, one of the subsequent authors of the Authorized Version and the protomartyr under Mary. In 1535 Tyndale was decoyed by a scoundrel named Phillips, arrested by Charles V's order, and sent to prison at Vilvorde, where in 1536 he was burned.

There is now no doubt that Tyndale's translation of those parts of the Bible which he completed is, if not the direct parent, at least the grandparent of our own Authorized Version. It was made from the original Greek and the original Hebrew, of both of which, as of Latin and all civilized modern languages, its author was a master; and it was not, therefore, as has been sometimes asserted, a copy of Luther's German version, from which, however, beyond doubt, Tyndale derived assistance. And there is reason to believe that Rogers, who was the editor of 'Matthew's Bible', the first version licensed in England, used in that version portions of Tyndale's unpublished translation of other books of the Old Testament.



WILLIAM TYNDALE

From the portrait at Hertford College, Oxford

EDWARD STAFFORD

THIRD DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

(1478-1521)

son of Henry Stafford, second Duke, and Katharine Woodville, was a direct descendant of Edward III, and was therefore a possible object of jealousy to the first two Tudor kings. His father's head had been cut off by Richard III. Henry VII at once restored his lands and title, and, during his minority, he was a ward of the King's mother, Lady Margaret, who is likely to have given him a good education. He appears as a splendid noble, holding high position at the Court of Henry VIII, whom he once entertained at his house of Penshurst; and he served abroad in the campaign of 1513. He was connected by marriage with the Percys, Poles, Howards and Nevilles, and may have been used by these families as the mouth-piece of their jealousy against Wolsey, to whose malice popular tradition ascribed, perhaps wrongly, his fall. In 1521 he was accused of conspiring the death of Henry; the evidence against him was both suspected and flimsy, but he was condemned to death by a court of seventeen peers and beheaded on Tower Hill. In character he was vain, weak and excessively fond of dress.

CHARLES BRANDON

DUKE OF SUFFOLK

(*d.* 1485)

was the son of William Brandon, standard-bearer to Henry VII, who was killed at Bosworth. The date of his birth is unknown, and nothing at all is known of him until the accession of Henry VIII, when he immediately emerges as the King's favourite courtier and friend. In 1513 he became Viscount Lisle and next year Duke of Suffolk. He was in command of the English army at the siege of Therouenne in 1513, of that which invaded Picardy in 1523 and of that which captured Boulogne in 1544. He seems to have been as remarkable for matrimonial entanglements as his master, for he had already had more than one wife, and one at least was living, when he courted Margaret of Flanders in 1514, and when in the next year he married Henry's younger sister, the widowed Queen Mary of France. This marriage took place secretly, and Henry was only appeased by the gift of all his sister's plate and jewels. For a few years Suffolk and the Princess lived quietly in the country, but by 1517 he was back in favour, and was Henry's right-hand man for the rest of his life. Vigorous, patriotic, bluff and immoral, he bore, both in character and person, a remarkable likeness to his royal master.



EDWARD STAFFORD, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM

From the portrait at Magdalene College, Cambridge



CHARLES BRANDON, DUKE OF SUFFOLK

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

MARGARET TUDOR

(1489-1541)

the elder daughter of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, was born at Westminster and was married at the age of fourteen to James IV of Scotland: from this union came ultimately the inheritance of the crown of England by the Stuart kings. Margaret's son, James V, was born in 1512, seventeen months before his father's death at Flodden. Though left as Regent by her husband's will, Margaret had little real power, for all Scotland was at heart devoted to the French alliance. She married in 1514 Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, but thereby lost all hold on the Regency, which passed to the Duke of Albany. In 1517, after a visit to England, she quarrelled with her new husband, and was believed to have relations with more than one of the Scottish nobles. Her brother Henry, who had hoped to sway Scotland through her, found her as unstable in politics as she was faithless in matrimony, and wrote letters scolding her on both subjects. She was finally divorced from Angus in 1527, and in the next year declared her marriage to Henry Stewart, afterwards Lord Methven; and though she tried hard to divorce him in 1537 she never succeeded. She had by Angus one daughter, Margaret Douglas, afterwards Countess of Lennox and mother of Henry Lord Darnley. She was, in character, probably the worst specimen of the great House of Tudor.

MARY TUDOR

(1496-1533)

Queen of France, afterwards Duchess of Suffolk, the second surviving daughter of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, was a highly educated, beautiful and accomplished lady. She was betrothed and even married by proxy in 1508 to Prince Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V, and as late as 1514 Charles seems to have regarded her as his affianced bride. But in that year Wolsey concluded with France a treaty by which this girl of eighteen was to wed immediately old Louis XII, then aged fifty-two. She is said to have been so devoted to dancing and to late hours at night that her husband succumbed to the consequent gaities on the first day of the next year. She immediately married her brother Henry's friend, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, but without the consent of the said brother or his Council. After some wrath and much grumbling a reconciliation was effected, and Mary's only surviving child, Frances, who became the mother of Lady Jane Grey, was born in 1517. She seems to have been a warm partisan of Queen Katharine and to have hated Anne Boleyn bitterly. She died in Suffolk in her thirty-seventh year.



MARGARET TUDOR

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



MARY TUDOR, QUEEN OF FRANCE, WITH THE
DUKE OF SUFFOLK

From the portraits in the possession of the Duke of Bedford, K.G.

WILLIAM WARHAM

(1450-1532)

Archbishop of Canterbury, was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, where he resided as Fellow till 1488. He became an ecclesiastical lawyer, was employed by Henry VII on several diplomatic missions, and was rewarded in 1494 with the Mastership of the Rolls, in 1496 with the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon and in 1502 with the Bishopric of London. In 1504 he became Archbishop and Chancellor. He was Chancellor of Oxford University from 1506 until his death, and in this capacity showed himself a munificent patron of the New learning, and especially of Erasmus, who owed much to his bounty. He crowned Henry VIII and Queen Katharine in 1509, but his influence soon gave way to Wolsey's, to whom in 1515 he resigned the Chancellorship. Though Wolsey's office of Legate superseded the 'natural' legation enjoyed by Warham, as by all Archbishops of Canterbury, and though many disputes of an official kind arose between them, their personal relations seem to have remained amicable and even cordial. Like Wolsey, Warham was no persecutor, and seems to have thought very little of complaints that were often made to him of the increase of heresy: thus on one occasion he protected Colet, who was in real danger from his diocesan of London. Warham was obliged, probably against his will, to manifest an interest in Henry's proceedings for the divorce, and sat on various commissions in connexion with it; and it seems probable that he really believed the union with Katharine to be an unlawful one. In the Parliament which met in 1529, Warham, now a very old man, was not

in a position to make much resistance to the ecclesiastical changes proposed, but it was he who, in 1531, suggested to Convocation to accept the proposed Royal title of 'Head of the Church' with the amendment 'quantum per Christi legem licet'. He died in 1532, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral.



ARCHBISHOP WARHAM

From the portrait by Holbein in the possession of the Viscount Dillon

Face p. 116



BISHOP FISHER

From the drawing by Holbein belonging to the King
at Windsor Castle

JOHN FISHER

(d. 1535)

Bishop of Rochester, came of a substantial merchant's family of Beverley, Yorkshire, where there was an excellent school attached to the Minster. He passed for an old man at the time of his death but, as he did not take his B.A. at Cambridge till 1487 nor his M.A. till 1491, it is not likely that he was more than seventy years of age. He became Master of his College (Michaelhouse) in 1497, and had already made the acquaintance of Lady Margaret Beaufort, with whom as a benefactor to learning his name was to be for ever associated, for in that same year he became her confessor. It was he who carried out or perhaps suggested her noble foundations of Christ's College (1505) and St. John's (1511, after her decease), and he had already helped her to found the Divinity Professorships which bear her name at both Universities, becoming himself the first occupant of the Cambridge chair. For many years he was also Chancellor of his beloved University. Without laying claim to be a great Greek scholar, he was an ardent patron of the New learning, and of what would now be called the 'higher criticism' of the Scriptures; though he detested heretics and waged a long controversy with Luther himself, he is supposed to have had leanings to the Lutheran doctrine of justification, and he was an avowed enemy of Wolsey, whose private life was an offence to him. In all matters of ceremonial, in belief in Papal authority and on the sacramental question, he was conservative of the conservatives; and his fearless character led him to oppose Henry on the divorce question, and to oppose the anti-clerical party in the Parliament of 1529, as

strongly as he had opposed Wolsey in that of 1523. He was the leader of Convocation in its resistance to the Erastian title, 1531, was the confessor and councillor of Queen Katharine, and was involved, even more deeply than his friend More, in the imposture of the Nun of Kent. For this he was attainted in Parliament in 1534, but allowed to compound for his offence. Shortly afterwards he refused, with More, to swear to the whole of the Succession Act, and was committed to a rigid imprisonment. While he was in prison the Act of Supremacy was passed, and he refused to swear to this also. Henry might perhaps have spared him had not Paul III sent him a Cardinal's hat while he was in prison. But there is no doubt—and under the circumstances no wonder—that he was also in correspondence with the Emperor Charles V, with a view to the latter striking some stroke in favour of Katharine and her daughter Mary. In short, he had committed treason, and of a kind for which he might have suffered even under a more merciful king than Henry VIII. But when he was executed, in June 1535, the civilized world was almost as horrified as at the death of More a fortnight later.

KATHARINE OF SPAIN

(1485-1536)

commonly called Katharine of Arragon, first Queen of Henry VIII, was the youngest child of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain. She had an excellent and learned education, and was married in 1501 to Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII, but she never lived with him as his wife. The Prince died in the following April at the age of sixteen, and Katharine was betrothed in 1503 to his brother Henry. A Papal dispensation was procured from Pope Julius II to hallow this more than doubtfully lawful union. In 1505, when the marriage was to have taken place, Henry, then aged fourteen, registered, by his father's advice, a protest against its completion; and it is clear that Henry VII's main object in the whole business was to retain possession of one half of the very considerable dowry of the Princess. Ferdinand, on his side, was anxious not to have to pay the other half, which, however, Henry at last extorted from him. Katharine's life must have been a very miserable one until 1509, when Henry VII died, and Henry VIII, who seems to have been really fond of her, married her two months after his accession. He left her as Regent when he went to fight in France in 1513, and during her regency the Battle of Flodden was won against the Scots. Her father's continuous treachery towards his English allies may have weakened the King's affection for Katharine, but it seems more probable that it was the successive deaths of four children, and the fact that only one girl survived from their union, that gradually cooled her husband's affection, and led him to question the original

validity of his marriage. At all events in 1526 the question of a divorce began to be secretly mooted, and Wolsey was in favour of it. Katharine maintained from the first a dignified and active resistance to any such suggestion: her best counsellor in the matter was John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. In 1528 the Pope sent over an Italian Cardinal, Campeggio, nominally to hold a joint inquiry with Wolsey into the validity of the marriage, but with secret instructions to avoid pronouncing a decision. After various shifts, in which neither King nor Pope appears with such credit as the injured Queen, the case was revoked to Rome, and this practically terminated all Henry's hopes of a divorce by Papal authority. In July 1531 Henry finally left Katharine's society and never saw her again. Meanwhile Parliament had met in 1529 and had commenced to pass the series of Acts which effected the final breach with the Papacy. As soon as the Act of Appeals had become law, the Archbishop of Canterbury held a court at Dunstable and pronounced in favour of the divorce. Katharine then became, so far as English law could make her, merely the 'Princess Dowager', but the people of England, with whom the divorce was most unpopular, continued to salute her as Queen. Her household was much reduced, and severe pressure was put upon her, though in vain, to induce her to acquiesce in her changed position. Long after it was too late (1534) the Pope pronounced in favour of the validity of her marriage, but this could now do Katharine no good, for Parliament had already recognized Anne Boleyn as Queen and withdrawn England from obedience to the Pope. Katharine utterly refused to take the oath attached to the new Act of Succession, though the penalty for refusing was death, and though she lived long enough to hear that her saintly friend, Bishop Fisher, and Sir Thomas More had been beheaded for refusing. She died at Kimbolton firm to the last, praying for forgiveness for her enemies, and forgiving the King for all his cruelty towards her. She was honourably buried at Peterborough.



KATHARINE OF SPAIN

From a portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



ANNE BOLEYN

From a portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

Everything that we know of Queen Katharine is to her credit: she was a loyal and grossly injured wife, an affectionate friend and mother, and a faithful subject of her adopted country. In the exercise of the strictest piety according to the practices of the Roman church, she found, in the days of her misfortune, her only consolation.

ANNE BOLEYN

(1507-1536)

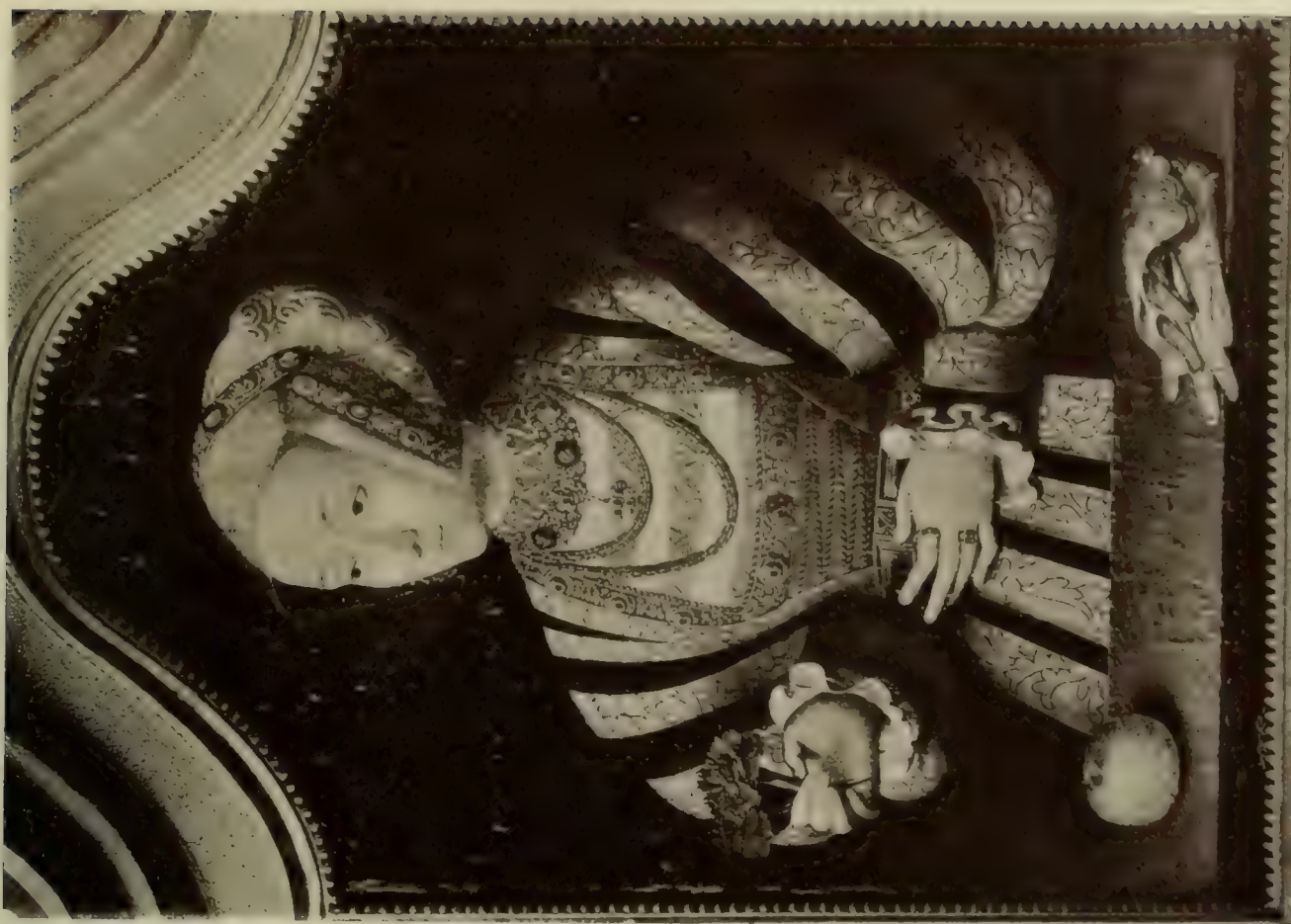
second Queen of Henry VIII, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, afterwards Earl of Wiltshire, and Lady Elizabeth Howard. Anne was thus a niece of Henry's courtier-statesman, the Duke of Norfolk. She spent some years at the French Court before 1522, when she first seems to have attracted the notice of Henry VIII; her elder sister Mary was for a short time the King's mistress at about that date. She was sought in marriage by the heir of the Percys, and was perhaps privately contracted to him: by 1525 the King was secretly courting her, but at what date she actually became his mistress we do not know for certain. From 1527 onwards it was publicly known that Henry was seeking a divorce from Katharine, and it soon became evident that, in spite of Wolsey's remonstrances, he intended Anne to take her place as Queen. She travelled about with him, and had magnificent apartments fitted up for her wherever he was until her marriage with him, which took place privately some time in January 1533. We do not even know where the marriage took place or by whom it was celebrated. But it was made public at Easter, and Cranmer, as Archbishop, held an inquiry into its validity, in favour of which he pronounced. Anne was crowned with great magnificence on Whit Sunday. The hatred of all but the most servile courtiers for her and for all the Boleyns was open and avowed. Her only surviving child, afterwards Queen Elizabeth, was born in September. But Henry was already tired of her, and it is pretty clear that she was but a vulgar coquette of neither wit nor accomplishments, and, strange to say, without any

extraordinary beauty. As to her chastity both before and after her marriage it is difficult to pronounce with certainty. Acts of adultery and even of incest were alleged against her on her trial, which took place before a court of peers, with her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, as president, in May 1536; but, though sentence was unanimously given against her, it could hardly be called a fair trial, as some of her alleged accomplices had been previously convicted and put to death. She was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 19, 1536.

JANE SEYMOUR

(1509-1537)

third Queen of Henry VIII, was the daughter of Sir John Seymour and Margaret Wentworth. We find her as a maid of honour in the household of Queen Katharine and again in that of Queen Anne, but it was not till 1535 that Henry began to pay her serious attention. He married her immediately after Anne's death in May 1536, and their only child, afterwards Edward VI, was born in October 1537, the Queen dying from cold and improper diet twelve days after her delivery. For her alone of his six Queens, Henry wore mourning. She seems to have been a gentle creature of good character and a popular Queen. She was buried at Windsor, and Henry was afterwards buried at her side.



ANNE OF CLEVES

From the portrait in St. John's College, Oxford



JANE SEYMOUR

From the portrait by Holbein in the possession of the
Duke of Bedford, K.G.

ANNE OF CLEVES

(1515-1557)

fourth Queen of Henry VIII, was the daughter of John Duke of Cleves and Mary Duchess of Julich. Her father became a Protestant in 1533, and was generally regarded as the head of the West German Lutherans. As early as 1537 Henry's minister, Cromwell, who was anxious to draw his master into a Protestant connexion, seems to have thought of Anne as a possible successor to Jane Seymour, who had just died. But not till 1539 were any serious steps taken; Holbein was then commissioned to paint Anne's portrait, and the King, who seems to have shown an extraordinary apathy on every subject connected with his future wife except her looks, professed himself satisfied with it. But Anne knew no music, of which art Henry was devotedly fond, and could speak no language but German. She was in fact a dull, good-tempered, domestic German lady. By the time Henry had made up his mind to the match, and had gone too far in it to avoid receiving the Princess, the political reasons which had moved him to enter upon it had ceased to exist; Cromwell's day of favour was over, and the King was anxious to conciliate the Emperor and to avoid all suspicion of 'heresy'. Thus Anne arrived in England (Dec. 1539) a year too late, and Henry, who met her at Rochester, though outwardly civil, was shocked at her plainness and at the impossibility of conversing with her. They were, however, married by Cranmer at Greenwich in February 1540, though they never lived together as man and wife. Anne was quite passive and apparently well pleased when a vote of Convocation divorced them in the following July. She received a large jointure, which she continued to enjoy until her death. She visited Henry at Hampton Court on at least one subsequent occasion, but most of her time was passed at Hever Castle in Kent. She figured in royal state at the coronation of Mary, and was buried in Westminster Abbey in 1557.

KATHARINE HOWARD

(1521-1542)

fifth Queen of Henry VIII, was the daughter of Lord Edmund Howard and Joyce Culpeper: she was brought up by her grandmother, the Duchess of Norfolk, in whose household she was very carelessly looked after, and she seems to have allowed herself to grow accustomed to acts of impropriety. In the year 1540 she was brought to Court, perhaps with the intention of captivating Henry, by the agency of the Catholic party, then swayed by Bishop Gardiner; and she was secretly married to the King in the July of that year. Early in August Henry acknowledged her as Queen. Her conduct in this capacity was light-minded, if not wicked: before the next year was out she was having secret interviews with some of her old lovers, one of whom she actually made her secretary. Henry was utterly taken aback when he discovered evidence of this and of the immorality of his wife's past life, but when confronted with this evidence Katharine admitted her previous guilt, though she denied that she had ever been unfaithful to Henry: she was attainted of high treason in January 1542 and executed on February 13.



KATHARINE HOWARD

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
(School of Holbein)



KATHARINE PARR

From the portrait at Lambeth Palace

KATHARINE PARR

(1512-1548)

sixth and last Queen of Henry VIII, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Parr and Maud Green. Her father was Controller of the Household of Henry VIII at the beginning of his reign. Katharine and her brother William, afterwards Marquis of Northampton, received an excellent education, and she became one of the most learned ladies of the age. She was twice married before her royal wedding, the first time to Lord Borough, who died in 1529, and the second time to Lord Latimer, who died in 1543. Being sought in a third marriage by Sir Thomas Seymour, the brother of the late Queen Jane, she was about to accept his hand when Henry intervened and married her himself in July 1543. She was an excellent woman, already inclined towards the reformed doctrines, and successfully interceded for many so-called 'heretics', who would otherwise have suffered death: she also induced Henry to restore to royal rank the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, whose legitimacy his remarkable matrimonial arrangements had left in doubt. Henry named her Regent when he designed an expedition to France in 1544. Her main functions in the last two years of the reign were those of nurse to her husband, who suffered agonies of pain from an ulcer in his leg. There is a famous story told in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* to the effect that the Catholic party had planned her ruin, and were actually about to arrest her as a heretic when Henry intervened and saved her.

After Henry's death Katharine took as her fourth husband her old lover, Thomas Seymour, now Lord Seymour of Sudeley, a scoundrel of the worst type, who ill-treated and perhaps poisoned her, for he had designs to marry the Princess Elizabeth. She died in child-birth at Sudeley Castle, in Gloucestershire, in 1548.

WILLIAM PAGET

(1505-1563)

first Lord Paget of Beaudesert, was of humble origin, probably from Wednesbury in Staffordshire. He was educated at St. Paul's School and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and it was in the latter place that he became known to Stephen Gardiner, who employed him in the 'King's business' of the divorce in 1529. This at once recommended him to Henry VIII, into whose favour he rapidly rose; after holding several minor offices he became Secretary of State in 1543, and probably was Henry's most trusted adviser during the last four years of his life. He attached himself in 1547 to the Protector Somerset, gave him good advice which the impetuous Protector too often neglected, was raised by him to the peerage in 1549, and very nearly shared his ruin and his fate in 1551. He was indeed stripped of many of his offices and of much wealth (like other successful Tudor courtiers he had feathered his own nest pretty well) in 1552; but had made his peace with Northumberland sufficiently to appear as a signatory to Edward VI's 'devise' of the succession in favour of Jane Grey in the summer of the next year. It is clear, however, that he never intended to abide by this, and he was one of the leading agents in putting Mary on the throne. Mary never trusted him, although he played a leading part in furthering her marriage with Philip, for his religious views were of the laxest. Thus he made a gallant stand, in two successive Marian Parliaments, against Gardiner's statutes for persecuting 'heretics'; but when the statutes had been forced through he tacitly acquiesced, and he continued to hold his office of Lord Privy Seal. This he resigned on the accession of Elizabeth, and there is not much evidence that he possessed any influence under her. But her settlement of religious affairs was probably quite to his mind: for, though without any moral elevation of character or any serious religious views, he was evidently a convinced Erastian and a champion of moderation in all things.



LORD PAGET

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery



HANS HOLBEIN

From a miniature by himself belonging to the
Duke of Buccleuch, K.G.

HANS HOLBEIN

(1497-1543)

the great German painter has no claim to a place in a collection of English portraits, except that he was the first really great artist to paint them. He came to England, with a recommendation from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, in 1526 or 1527, and at once obtained enormous success, More himself in the latter year being his first known sitter. Warham, Fisher, Elyot and many others followed immediately; from 1528-1532 the artist was back in Germany, but in 1533 he painted in England the great work known as 'The Ambassadors', now in our National Gallery. He also designed the title-page to the first two English Bibles (Coverdale's and Cranmer's). He painted Thomas Cromwell, Jane Seymour and a famous family group of the royal family, which perished in a fire at Whitehall in 1698. In 1538 Henry VIII sent him to Brussels to paint a widowed Duchess of Milan, with a view to matrimony; this was the lady who said to the English King, 'Yes—if I had two necks.' In 1539 he painted the infant Prince Edward, Anne of Cleves and during the next three years many of the English nobles: at the time of his death he was engaged on the noble picture of the 'King giving the charter to the Barber Surgeons Company': he died of the plague in the autumn of 1543. As in the case of many other famous Court painters, much work is constantly ascribed to him without adequate evidence that it is by his hand.

DAVID BEATON

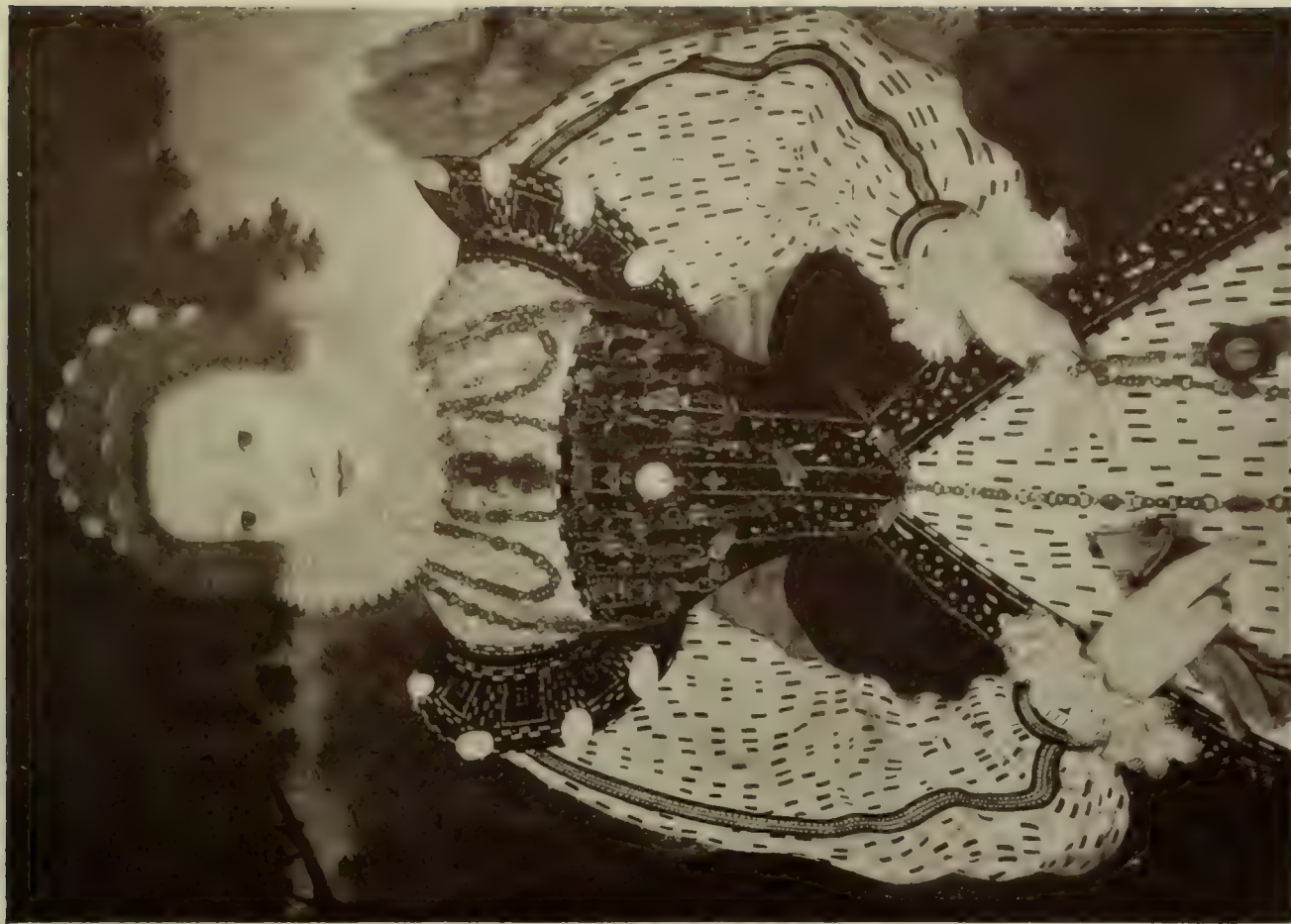
(1494-1546)

Archbishop of St. Andrews and Cardinal, was son of John Beaton of Balfour, and nephew of James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews. He was educated at St. Andrews, Glasgow and Paris, became Abbot of Arbroath in 1523, Bishop of Mirepoix in France in 1537 and succeeded his uncle as Primate of Scotland two years later, having been already nominated to the Cardinalate. He also held high secular office in Scotland under James V, and enjoyed, as a warm partisan of the 'auld alliance' with France against England, his fullest confidence. On James's death, he was accused by his enemies—that is, by all partisans of the Reformation or of an English alliance—of forging a will by which he was appointed co-Regent of Scotland with Huntly, Arran and Argyle; he was ordered into custody but soon escaped. Being wholly in the confidence of the Queen mother, Mary of Guise, he threw over a treaty which his enemies had concluded with Henry VIII, and thereby provoked the English invasion of 1544. The Cardinal's name has been held up to obloquy as a persecutor, because he applied, sporadically, the Catholic argument of the stake against the preachers of the reformed doctrines, and because among those who suffered was George Wishart. But it must be remembered that these preachers were nearly all anti-nationalists, and that the triumph of their doctrines would have meant at that time the betrothal of the infant Queen of Scots to Edward VI, and the consequent extinction of the independence of Scotland. Beaton was before all things a nationalist, and, though he was murdered by the friends of Wishart in his own castle at St. Andrews, in May 1546, he was able to hand on the policy of resistance to the gallant Mary of Guise, who sent her daughter to France to be brought up in the traditions of the 'auld alliance'. In private life Beaton was immoral and left several natural children.



DAVID BEATON

From the portrait at Blairs College, Aberdeen



MARY OF GUISE

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

MARY OF GUISE

(1515-1560)

Queen of James V and mother of Mary Queen of Scots, was the eldest child of Claude, Duke of Guise, and Antoinette Bourbon. Her first husband was the Duc de Longueville, who died in 1537, and in the next year she married James V. Her only surviving child, Mary, was born a week before King James's death, and the regency of Scotland was at first vested in the Earl of Arran, the heir presumptive to the Crown. But Mary had on her side an able champion in David Beaton, Cardinal and Archbishop of St. Andrews; indeed, the railings of John Knox, which may be safely dismissed as utterly without foundation, accused her of undue familiarity with the Cardinal. Though she did not carry Beaton with her entirely in her French policy, or in her desire to wed her infant daughter in France, she knew that she could rely on him to be hostile to Henry VIII, who was proposing, in and out of season, a betrothal of little Mary to Edward VI. Beaton's candidate, on the other hand, was to be the son of Arran; but on Beaton's murder in 1546 the French interest became supreme among the Scottish patriots, and Mary of Guise was left their leading champion; and so, after the disastrous Battle of Pinkie, she succeeded in betrothing her daughter to the Dauphin of France and in sending her off for safety to the latter country in 1548. In 1550 she paid her a visit in France, and, being a good woman, seems to have been disquieted at the sight of the godless society in which the child was growing up at the Court of Henry II; she visited Edward VI, with whose government Scotland had already made

peace, on her return journey. In 1554 she succeeded Arran as Regent, or 'Governor', of Scotland, and went through some sort of coronation ceremony at the Parliament of Edinburgh, which ratified this. The Reformation was, however, making great strides in Scotland, and the Regent's task, at which she strove with a conciliatory skill worthy of high praise, was a very difficult one. All her efforts at last proved vain; when Mary Tudor joined Spain in the war of 1557 against France, Mary of Guise was unable to get the unruly Scots nobles to invade England in the French interest; and at the end of that year Knox organized the Protestant 'Lords of the Congregation of Christ Jesus' into a dangerous body as much pledged to enmity to the French alliance as to the extirpation of the Catholic faith. All over Southern and Eastern Scotland in the following year the Protestant propaganda went on, and there was practically civil war. Mary's one hope of resistance lay in getting French troops; and these were just what her friends in France seemed unable to send in sufficient numbers. She maintained a most gallant losing fight throughout 1558-9, but it became hopeless when, in the spring of 1560, the new English Queen, Elizabeth, threw her weight on to the side of the rebels; Mary's own health was already far broken, and she died in June in the castle of Edinburgh, while it was still holding out for her against the English and Scottish Protestant lords.

HUGH LATIMER

(1485-1555)

Bishop of Worcester and martyr, came of a yeoman stock in Leicestershire. Except his own statements in one of his sermons as to the admirable method of his upbringing and the substantial rustic plenty in which his family lived, we know nothing of him until he appears in 1506 as a student at Cambridge, where he took his M.A. degree as Fellow of Clare in 1510. Some doubt as to his right to a Doctor's degree was afterwards raised, but by 1522 he was a licensed University preacher. It is extremely probable that he had attended Erasmus's lectures during the short tenure of the Lady Margaret Professorship by that scholar. We have good evidence of his scholarship, but especially of his wide theological reading, in his published sermons. Yet it is before all things as a preacher that Latimer is famous; in the preparation of the English Bible or the Prayer Books no such part as was borne by the famous Cambridge scholars, Cranmer and Ridley, is ascribed to him. The first suggestion of 'heresy' was made against him as early as 1525, but he then asserted that he had never read Luther's works, and was exculpated by Wolsey himself. He declared himself at Cambridge in 1530 to be an enthusiastic partisan of the divorce, and the result was an invitation to preach before the King at Windsor, after which he obtained a living at Kington, in Wiltshire. In 1531 he was censured in Convocation for a heretical sermon, and again in 1532, when he recanted and disavowed any heretical opinions. Indeed at this time he seems to have been quite uncertain of his own theological standpoint.

In 1534 he became a Royal Chaplain and preached weekly Lenten sermons before the King, who advanced him to the Bishopric of Worcester, a position in which he never seems to have been at all happy. Though believing all the tales about the wickedness of the monks, he declaimed against the unworthy use to which Church property was put by the new holders, and wished some of the monasteries to be turned into schools. Yet he was always strong against relics and image worship, and the homely terms in which he habitually spoke of long-venerated relics disgusted many pious souls. Nor can he be acquitted of applauding, in a way in which Cranmer never did, some of the bloody executions of Henry VIII's reign. When in 1539 the Six Articles were passed Henry compelled Latimer to resign his bishopric, which it seems he was only too glad to do. He was imprisoned in the house of the Bishop of Chichester, and, as he was universally hateful to the Catholic party, which was now triumphant, it is pretty certain that he owed his life only to secret protection from the Crown. He was liberated in 1540, but banished from London, and we know not how or where he passed the next five years. Not long before Henry's death he was again apprehended and sent to the Tower, whence he was liberated on Edward VI's accession.

During the reign of the young King he resumed his preaching, and it is to this period that his best-known sermons belong. He steadily refused all pressure to resume his bishopric or to accept any office under the Crown.

Now, though not before, we may be sure that he was definitely 'heretical' on the subject of the Sacrament; i.e. he had ceased to believe that a priest could make bread and wine into the actual body and blood of God. Strangely enough, except for one early remark that the Bishops of 1531 would have treated St. Paul as a heretic (on the subject of justification by faith), we know almost nothing about Latimer's theological views; and the inference is that dogma had little interest for him. On the other hand, of his wit, his apophthegms



HUGH LATIMER

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



NICHOLAS RIDLEY

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

and his parables from rural life more survive than in the case of any other sixteenth-century divine ; and it is only in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* that we find anything to which we can compare his style. On Mary's accession the shrewd old man saw what was coming ; and, though even his enemies seem to have desired that he should fly to the Continent, as most of the ' hot gospellers ' of the previous reign did, he declined to take advantage of their kindness, and, in September 1553, he took up ' his old lodgings ', as he called them, at the Tower again. In the following March he was sent to Oxford as a prisoner together with Cranmer and Ridley, and a disputation was soon after held with them in St. Mary's Church. Latimer professed himself, owing to old age and sickness, quite unable to dispute, said his memory was gone, and appeared to be eager for the fire ; all he knew was that there was ' nothing about the mass in the Bible '. Even though they were excommunicated at this disputation, nothing could be done to the prisoners until the re-enactment of the anti-heretical statutes in the early winter of 1554 ; and it was not till September 30-October 1, 1555, after a weary separate imprisonment in which all books were denied them, that Ridley and Latimer were again examined. On the 16th they were burned at the same fire, in the dry moat of the city called Canditch, opposite the present gate of Balliol College.

Latimer, though he lived to be an old man, seems never to have enjoyed strong health, and as his servant said that he rose every morning at two in order to study, he is not likely to have improved it by his manner of life.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY

(*d.* 1555)

Bishop of London and martyr, was the son of Christopher Ridley, of the old Northumbrian family of that name, and Anne Blenkinsop. We find him a student of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as early as 1518, and may therefore guess his birth to have been about 1500. He became a first-rate Greek scholar, and the Cambridge of his time was the best Greek school in Europe. He took his M.A. degree as Fellow of Pembroke in 1526, and thenceforward pursued his studies successively at Paris and Louvain. He served the office of Proctor at Cambridge in 1534, and was an energetic champion of the privileges of the University. The date at which he became known to Cranmer or at which he accepted the earliest rudiments of the Reformed Faith is unknown, but in 1537 he became Archbishop's Chaplain and Vicar of Herne, Kent. He was still towards the end of Henry's reign Catholic enough to be made successively Master of Pembroke, Royal Chaplain, Canon of Canterbury and Canon of Westminster; but from Edward's accession he appears as an advanced and advancing Protestant. His more virile nature and his thoroughgoing courage are traditionally supposed to have had much influence on the gentle Archbishop. He became Bishop of Rochester in 1547, of London in 1550, was Cranmer's right-hand man in the compilation of the first Prayer Book (1549) and had more share than Cranmer in the alterations introduced at its revision in 1552. Ridley's courage led him to espouse the cause of the poor and to speak openly of it to King and courtiers, and his influence counted for much in the establishment of the great

London charities of Christ's Hospital, St. Thomas's and Bethlehem. It also led him to preach openly in favour of Jane Grey's title, in spite of the hostility of the Londoners to Jane's cause. When that cause was lost, instead of attempting to escape to the Continent he went straight to Mary and surrendered to her mercy. She sent him at once to the Tower, whence as long as he was allowed pen and ink he stoutly defended the Reformed Faith. In March 1554 he was taken to Oxford with Latimer and Cranmer, and a mock disputation was held with them in St. Mary's Church. His opponents knew well enough that, as a controversialist on the doctrine of the Primitive Church, Ridley could have turned the whole of them inside out, and he was excommunicated without being really allowed to speak. A long imprisonment till the autumn of 1555 did not weaken his courage, and he was burned at the same fire as Latimer on October 16.

Of the three great Oxford martyrs he has left upon posterity less impression than his fellow sufferers: yet it is hard to say why; in power he seems to have been as merciful and as lovable as Cranmer, and in adversity as dauntless as Latimer.

EDMUND BONNER

(d. 1569)

Bishop of London, about whose origin nothing certain is known, had a career almost exactly parallel with that of his famous fellow persecutor, Stephen Gardiner. He was a member of Broadgates Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford, in 1512, and took degrees in canon and civil law. Like Gardiner he became an able canonist, like him entered the service of Wolsey and like him was employed by Henry VIII on missions in connexion with the divorce. It was Bonner who carried to Pope Clement VII Henry's final appeal to a General Council, 1533. After various small preferments in reward for these services, Bonner was nominated to the Bishopric of Hereford in 1538 and to that of London in the next year. He acquired fame as a persecutor from his rough treatment of 'heretics' in the days of the 'Six Articles' (1539-46), but he always seems to have done his best to persuade them to recant, and to have been willing to accept very easy recantations. In spite of the diatribes of his enemies the same was the case when he had to condemn a far larger number of martyrs to the stake in Mary's reign. The truth is that he was a coarse, vulgar creature, who could jest at inopportune moments, and, besides, his diocese of London was the most enlightened in the kingdom; but the cruelty that he had to administer was probably by no means to his taste. In Edward VI's reign he followed Gardiner's course almost exactly: that is to say, he was first imprisoned for refusing to admit the authority of the Visitors of 1547, released by Somerset's influence, imprisoned again for preaching against the authority of the Privy Council and



JOHN HOOPER

From a seventeenth-century print by R. White



EDMUND BONNER

From a woodcut in Foxe's *Actes and Monuments . . . of the Church*, fo. 1563

remained in prison till Mary's accession. On that event he was at once restored to his See of London, which had been given to Ridley; and from the commencement of the persecution in 1555 he had to bear a leading hand in it. It was he who degraded Cranmer from the priesthood in February 1556. But, unlike Gardiner, he was not *felix opportunitate mortis*: stained with loathsome memories of bloodshed, he lived to meet Elizabeth as she entered London; she looked upon him with horror and refused him her hand to kiss. Though he sat in Parliament and Convocation in 1559, he refused to take the oath of supremacy, was deprived and imprisoned and died in prison in 1569.

JOHN HOOPER

(d. 1555)

Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, and afterwards martyr, was of Somersetshire extraction, possibly educated at Merton College, and possibly a monk at Gloucester. An early convert to the doctrines of the Reformation, though rather of the Swiss than the Lutheran school, he fled from England in 1539, married, though in Holy Orders, at Basle in 1546, and spent the next two years at Zurich, in close intercourse with Bullinger. He returned to England in 1549, already the champion of a more radical school of Protestantism than could find favour with Cranmer: but this was pleasing to Edward VI and the Earl of Warwick, who gave him the See of Gloucester. He made a great disturbance about the unlawfulness of wearing episcopal vestments at his own consecration, but was ultimately persuaded to yield on the subject. In 1552 the See of Worcester was added to his See of Gloucester, and in both dioceses he went the utmost length in his zeal for reform: but he was exceedingly charitable to the poor, and seems to have been very popular at Gloucester. On the accession of Mary he was at once deprived and soon afterwards imprisoned. In January 1555 he was tried for heresy, on the crucial question of the Sacrament, and burned at Gloucester on February 9.

WILLIAM MAITLAND

OF LETHINGTON

(*d.* 1573)

son of Sir Richard Maitland and Mary Cranstoun, and secretary to Mary Queen of Scots, was educated at St. Andrews and abroad. He was first employed by Mary of Guise in 1554, and, from that time till his death, appears, both as diplomatist and statesman, to have done his best to maintain the independence of Scotland: the task was, however, beyond human power, and Maitland died in prison in the power of the anti-national party. To trace in detail the missions upon which he was employed, or the attitude which he took towards the successive turns of fortune's wheel, would be to rewrite the history of Elizabeth's relations with Mary; but we may note that he was successively the author or supporter, on the Scottish side, of the treaty of Edinburgh 1560, of the recall of Mary to Scotland in 1561, of the constant schemes by which Mary hoped to be recognized as heir to Elizabeth, of the moderate attitude of Mary towards religious parties in Scotland up to 1565, of Mary's scheme to marry Don Carlos of Spain, of her marriage with Darnley, of the murder of Rizzio, whose favour was undermining his own, of the murder of Darnley. But from this time his influence declined: he had to acquiesce in the Queen's marriage with Bothwell, though Bothwell was undoubtedly hostile to him: he had to acquiesce in her imprisonment in Lochleven: he had to appear at York as one of the Scottish commissioners at the inquiry into the question of Darnley's murder. While there, however, he entered into secret communication

with his Queen, and favoured the project of her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk. In 1571 he joined Kirkcaldy of Grange, who was holding out in Edinburgh Castle against the English party, and who actually held out until May 1573. He died in prison at Leith, about three weeks after the surrender, perhaps by his own hand, but his health had been seriously broken for some years past, and a natural explanation of his death is possible.

Maitland's aim, to reconcile and unite all Scotsmen in the national interest, was frustrated, first by Mary herself, whom he had continually to attempt to save from the results of her own violent passions, and secondly by the hostility of Knox and other fanatics, whose influence his sceptical mind underrated: each party in fact regarded him as a traitor, because he was attached to none; and it must be admitted that he was entirely unscrupulous as to the means he employed and the deeds at which he connived in order to gain his end.



WILLIAM MAITLAND OF LETHINGTON

From the portrait in the possession of the Earl of Lauderdale



JAMES STEWART, EARL OF MORAY

From the portrait belonging to the King at Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh

JAMES STEWART

EARL OF MORAY

(1531-1570)

Regent of Scotland for James VI, was the natural son of James V and Margaret Erskine, and is famous both for his headship of the Protestant interest during the reign of his sister Mary, and for the subtlety with which he concealed his deep personal ambition. He appears first as holding the Priory of St. Andrews, but there is no evidence that he ever contemplated taking orders. He accompanied his infant sister to France, and visited France on a later occasion for purposes of study; and his education was certainly far above the average of that of the unlettered Scottish nobles of his day. As early as 1555 he was known to Knox as a sympathizer with the doctrines of reform, and he probably owes the fair reputation, which unscientific Protestant historians have allowed him, to his lifelong friendship with that famous preacher. But it is quite evident that behind the mask of the devout Puritan lay a most unscrupulous ambition, which in all probability aimed at the Crown. Thus, while ostensibly desiring a peace with the Regent, Mary of Guise, in 1558-60, he was thwarting her and playing into the hands of Elizabeth, and he was the main author of the treaties of Berwick and Edinburgh: while professing to the other Scots lords to desire the marriage of Elizabeth and Arran, which would have excluded Queen Mary, he was really working for his sister's return, at which event he might hope to rule Scotland in her name. The adroitness with which, at the commencement of her rule, he embroiled that sister with her best friends the Gordons, in order to get for himself the Earldom of Moray, is a fine sample of his methods. When he found that Mary was one of the few people clever

enough to see through him, he became, always without showing any trace of his person in the details, the principal agent of her ruin: and, in the matter of her marriage with Darnley, he might almost be called an *agent provocateur*. For he knew that such a marriage would fatally embroil Mary with Elizabeth as well as with the Kirk, and yet he allowed it to take place without anything more than remonstrance sufficient to encourage the Queen to pursue it. For a moment, indeed, he made a false step when, to ingratiate himself with Elizabeth, he raised a flag of rebellion after the marriage, and had to fly to England, where his patroness scolded him in public but applauded him in private; but as soon as he discovered that the marriage was a failure from Mary's point of view he returned to Scotland, and secretly abetted the successive murders of Rizzio and Darnley; abetted, even more secretly, having previously betaken himself to France, the dreadful marriage of Bothwell and Mary. Thence he returned, according to his own story sorely against his will, to take up the Regency for James VI when Mary was imprisoned at Lochleven. After Mary's escape, defeat and flight to England, he betrayed secretly to Elizabeth whatever evidence of Mary's guilt could be collected, while to herself and her friends he was pretending to desire her marriage with the Duke of Norfolk. Of his ultimate designs, either in the event of Mary's restoration, or of her continued imprisonment, we have no knowledge, for he was assassinated at Linlithgow by a Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh in January 1570. So adroitly did this remarkable politician play his game throughout his life that it is perfectly possible to represent him not only as a godly religious leader, but as a real patriot whose selfish aims were, fortunately for him, not irreconcilable with the welfare of Scotland; and that is the usual light in which he has been represented. But on the other hand, the mere fact that, at such a critical period of Scottish history, James Stewart remained for twelve years the devoted and intimate ally of Elizabeth, renders every act of his liable to be scrutinized with the utmost suspicion.

MATTHEW PARKER

(1504-1575)

Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Norwich of a mercantile family, and became a member of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; he took his M.A. degree as a Fellow of that College in 1528; there he knew Latimer and several of the more advanced reformers of the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. But all his studies in patristic lore, which were very deep, failed to make him more than a moderate reformer, and a moderate he remained to the end of his days. He passed a great deal of Henry's reign in study at a small collegiate foundation called Stoke, in Suffolk, though he had actually been appointed chaplain to Anne Boleyn in the year before her death. But in 1544 he was nominated Master of Corpus, and in that capacity proved himself perhaps the best head of a college that ever lived. In the reign of Edward he continued to reside mainly at Cambridge, though he was presented in 1552 to the Deanery of Lincoln; but in Mary's reign he went into hiding, and shifted from place to place with such skill that he was never discovered. Elizabeth, or Cecil, to whom he was already known as a man of immense learning and no fanaticism, surprised him by selecting him, much against his will, to fill the See of Canterbury in December 1558; but the consecration did not take place till a year afterwards, owing to the great difficulty of finding four bishops properly qualified to perform the rite. The Catholics did not scruple to say that this rite when performed was invalid; but Parker was careful to leave on record ample proofs both of its validity and its publicity.

From the first the position of the Archbishop was one of great difficulty and perplexity. He had to meet the greed of Elizabeth's courtiers, who were perpetually grasping at Church property, and the open hostility both of Catholics and Puritans, the former refusing to accept the Reformation settlement at all, and the latter refusing to use the legal ceremonies ordained in the Prayer Book. The Queen's support to him, though not always given in the most gracious way, was unwavering, and he was courageous enough to remonstrate with her upon many occasions, especially upon some of her ecclesiastical appointments. Parker had little share in the revision of the Prayer Book, but the leading share in drawing up the Thirty-nine Articles, and in editing the great Bible of Elizabeth known as the 'Bishops' Bible', the leading share also in preparing the new Statutes of 1570 for the government of the University of Cambridge. In mere politics, though often in attendance at the Privy Council board, where he conciliated every one by his modesty, Parker seems to have taken little or no interest. Apart from the services he rendered to England by his wise government of the Church in its great crisis, we owe to Parker another inestimable debt; for it was he who first set about collecting and preserving on a serious scale the memorials of our religious and secular history. He ransacked the buildings of the dissolved monasteries and the bookshops of Europe for manuscripts of Early English chronicles, many of which he edited himself, while for some he supervised the work of other editors. He got Saxon types founded, and he projected a dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon language. He was himself the learned author of voluminous works on the early history of the Church in Britain, and was especially the historian of his own see. At his death he bequeathed his own magnificent library to his beloved college at Cambridge.



MATTHEW PARKER

From the portrait at Lambeth Palace

Painted by Richard Lync; engraved by Remigius Hogenburg in 1573

Fac. p. 146



JOHN WHITGIFT

From the portrait at Lambeth Palace

JOHN WHITGIFT

(d. 1604)

Archbishop of Canterbury, son of Henry Whitgift and Anne Dynewell, was born at Grimsby about 1530, and was a member in his youth of Queens', Pembroke and Peterhouse at Cambridge. There he fell under the influence of Ridley and Bradford, the Marian martyrs, and, during the Marian persecution, was protected by the Master of Peterhouse. He took orders in 1560, and became successively Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Master of Pembroke, Regius Professor, Master of Trinity and Prebendary of Ely. He had much to do with drafting the Elizabethan Statutes for the government of the University. After some slight leaning towards the anti-episcopal views then being disseminated in Cambridge by Cartwright, who had succeeded him in the Divinity chair, he conclusively took his stand on the ground which he maintained all the rest of his life, namely Calvinism in doctrine, and episcopal government in discipline; and it is impossible to doubt his utter sincerity. When he became Bishop of Worcester, 1577, and Archbishop of Canterbury, 1583, he rigorously enforced the legal ceremonies of the Prayer Book even upon men whose doctrinal views he entirely shared. His private wealth, inherited from his father, a rich merchant, enabled him to restore to the See of Canterbury something of its ancient splendour, and he was perfectly fearless in standing up to the Queen's most favoured courtiers against all spoliation of Church property. That he was the author and virtual creator of the permanent Court of High Commission, which persecuted 'Puritans', and of the severe decrees of 1586 in

the Star Chamber against unlicensed printing, that he upheld severe sentences against those who libelled him and the Church (especially in the case of the 'Martin Marprelate' tractarians) cannot be denied, but that he did these things from compliance to the Queen is not an opinion that can be seriously maintained. The Queen trusted him, loved him and, in fact, was not a little afraid of him. Hooker, Wotton and Camden were his intimate friends, and eulogized him highly; and he was perhaps *felix opportunitate mortis*, in the first year of King James, before the fruit of his harsh dealing with the Puritan section of the Church had ripened into serious discontent.

HENRY LORD DARNLEY

(1545-1567)

King-Consort of Scotland, son of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, and Lady Margaret Douglas (who was granddaughter to Henry VII), was born in Yorkshire, and seems to have received a fair education. His first meeting with his future wife, Mary Queen of Scots, took place when he paid a visit to the French Court in 1559; on the death of Mary's first husband, Francis II of France, Darnley again visited his cousin, and probably this time with a view to marrying her. Mary, however, took little notice of him, and, on his return, Elizabeth imprisoned both Darnley and his mother (1561). They were soon released and in 1563 Darnley appeared in some favour at the English Court, Elizabeth then professing to wish that her own favourite Leicester should marry the widowed Scottish Queen. But early in 1565 she had changed her mind, and let Darnley go to Scotland undoubtedly with the intention that he should supplant Leicester. The marriage was a fairly obvious one for Mary, as the man's descent from Henry VII would give her an additional claim to the English Crown, and the match was favoured by the Catholics; but this makes Elizabeth's 'art and part' in it the harder to explain. The exact date at which it took place is uncertain, but it is tolerably clear that the couple had already been married when the Papal dispensation for their union arrived in July 1565. Darnley's cowardly, disgusting and effeminate character soon turned Mary's love for his handsome person into real hatred: no party in the state could rely on him or work with him, and his vanity was ludicrous. He allowed himself to be the dupe of the English-

mind party, which murdered Mary's Italian secretary, Rizzio ; he actually held the Queen while the deed was committed at her feet ; she never forgave him, though she pretended to do so, in order to get him completely into her power ; nay, she sided with some of the very men who had made him their tool, in order to use them as agents against him. So powerless and so much hated did he feel himself to be that he was on the eve of leaving Scotland for good, when he was murdered at Kirk o' field, outside Edinburgh, on February 10, 1567. Mary's own guilt in this matter can hardly be considered doubtful.



HENRY LORD DARNLEY AND HIS
YOUNGER BROTHER)

From the portrait belonging to the King
at Holyrood Palace



JAMES HEPBURN
FOURTH EARL OF BOTHWELL

From the portrait in the possession of the
Hon. Mrs. Boyle

JAMES HEPBURN

FOURTH EARL OF BOTHWELL

(d. 1578)

son of Patrick, third Earl of Bothwell, and Agnes Sinclair, was probably born in 1537. He was hereditary Admiral of Scotland as well as hereditary Sheriff of Berwickshire, East Lothian and Midlothian. He first appears in history as a firm patriot and nationalist, who, despite his Protestantism, energetically championed the anti-English policy of the good Regent, Mary of Guise; he was also a bitter rival of the Earl of Arran. He was sent on a mission to Queen Mary in France in September 1560, and this was the first occasion of their meeting; and he returned in her full confidence in February 1561. But his quarrelsome disposition was always involving him in scrapes, especially with the family of Hamilton; and he was an object of profound suspicion to Mary's half-brother, Moray, who in 1564 betrayed him to the English government, which shut him up in Tynemouth Castle and then let him go to France. We find him back in Scotland after various adventures, in the autumn of 1565, in the confidence of the Queen and acquiescent in her marriage with Darnley, yet reckoned by all honest men as a most dangerous fellow and a fit instrument of any violence or *coup d'état*. In February 1566 he married a Catholic lady, Jean Gordon, sister of the Earl of Huntly, yet he remained a Protestant. He had no connexion with the murder of Rizzio, and, when Mary pardoned and caressed her husband, it was on Bothwell's help and following that she relied; for a few months he was the greatest man in Scotland. We cannot

tell at what time the Queen's personal infatuation for him began, or when the first steps towards getting rid of her husband were taken ; but in February 1567 Bothwell undoubtedly had the main hand in the murder of that husband, and protected the immediate agents in it. In spite of popular accusations and a protest of the Earl of Lennox, no real trial of Bothwell took place, and in April he carried off the Queen to his castle of Dunbar, almost certainly with her own consent : he obtained a doubtfully lawful divorce from his wife and married the Queen in May, when she created him Duke of Orkney. This was more than even those who had helped Bothwell to murder Darnley could stand, and civil war at once broke out. The troops of the guilty pair deserted them at Carbery Hill ; the Queen was captured and the Earl rode away. He soon repaired to the Shetland Islands and embarked on the career of a pirate, fled to Norway, where he was ill received by the Danish government, and died many years afterwards in close confinement in prison.

SIR HENRY SIDNEY

(1529-1582)

son of Sir William Sidney and Anne Pagenham, and father of the famous Sir Philip, was born in London, and, by his father's services to the first two Tudor sovereigns, early marked out for a career of distinction. This he was to find under Queen Elizabeth in the ungrateful task of being thrice Lord Deputy in Ireland. He was an intimate friend of Edward VI, who died in his arms; and he was already married to Northumberland's daughter Mary, by which marriage he became the brother-in-law of Elizabeth's favourite, Leicester. Sidney was in some danger at the accession of Queen Mary, but found afterwards means of recommending himself to her Spanish husband, who stood godfather to his son. Towards the end of Mary's reign he served his apprenticeship in the cruel Irish service under the Earl of Sussex, and was left by him as Lord Justice in his absence. Elizabeth made him Lord President of the Marches of Wales, an office which necessitated his residence at Ludlow; he ruled Wales with conspicuous ability, and retained the office, which during his three viceroyalties in Ireland he executed by deputy, till his death. Though belonging to the 'faction' of Leicester at the English Court, he was able, from 1571 at any rate, to keep on the best of terms with Lord Burghley; but it is curious that, while of all Elizabeth's Irish governors he was the most diligent, the most honest and the most far-sighted, the Queen never really extended her favour to him, recalled him twice on critical occasions and constantly complained of the expense which his government entailed. The only mistake of which we can accuse him in Ireland is that he never sufficiently trusted to the Earl of Ormond, who was probably the most loyal of the Anglo-Irish nobility; but, on the other hand, Ormond's kinsmen were not by any means loyal. Sidney was recalled for a third time in 1578 and, worn out with hard service, died at Penshurst four years later.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

(1554-1585)

son of Sir Henry Sidney and Mary Dudley, was born at Penshurst, and is famous as the typical chivalrous gentleman of the Elizabethan age. As a nephew of the Earl of Leicester he was 'born in the purple' to the trade of courtier, but among all the temptations of Court life he kept his honour entirely unstained. Educated at Shrewsbury and Christ Church, Oxford, he made, while at the latter place, an intimate friend of his future biographer, Fulke Greville. The vain and frivolous Earl of Leicester shows at his best in the constant care which he extended to his nephew, who was always in want of money; for Sir Henry Sidney was spending most of his own fortune in the thankless task of trying to govern Ireland. Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, was another early patron of the precocious boy. Philip Sidney left England in 1572 for a prolonged tour on the Continent, during which, notwithstanding his youth, his passion for learning and the letters of recommendation which he took with him procured him admission to the houses of the most illustrious scholars of Europe, and his own personal charm worked wonders everywhere. The chief of these foreign friends was Hubert Languet, a Huguenot scholar, for whom Sidney contracted a warm affection. But wherever he went it was the same story: Paul Veronese painted his portrait at Venice; some leading Poles are believed to have offered to crown him King of their unhappy country. On his return to England, 1575, he fell in love with Penelope Devereux, to whom his series of sonnets known as *Astrophel and Stella* is written; but this famous coquette became Lady Rich shortly before Sir Philip married Frances Walsingham, (1583). Meanwhile Sidney had been sent upon courtly embassies to Heidelberg and Vienna, made the acquaintance, notwithstanding



SIR HENRY SIDNEY

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

face p. 154



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

From the miniature by Isaac Oliver at Windsor Castle

his own ardent Protestantism, of the Catholic hero, Don John, and a warm friendship with William the Silent of Orange. In 1577 a new friend was added in the Huguenot leader, du Plessis-Mornay; next year it was the turn of Gabriel Hervey and Edmund Spenser, the latter of whom dedicated to Sidney his *Shepherd's Calendar*. In that year Sidney wrote his *Apology for Poetry* in defence of the nascent English drama, and in 1580, during a temporary disgrace at Court, he composed at Wilton, where his sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke, reigned queen of beauty and letters, the most celebrated of his works, *Arcadia*, a long and somewhat tedious set of 'romantic' episodes freely interlarded with mediocre verse. *Arcadia*, however, remained the chief intellectual pabulum of learned and elegant courtiers down to the Restoration. Philip sat in one Elizabethan Parliament, that of 1581; in 1583 he was knighted and married; in 1584 he made the last of his famous friendships, that with the great philosopher, Giordano Bruno, and in 1585 he accompanied his uncle Leicester on that expedition to the Low-Country wars which ended in his own death with immortal honour on the field of Zutphen.

The real interest of Sidney's life lies in the enormous impression which he made upon his contemporaries, themselves men and women of the most intellectual society that England has ever known. Indeed all Europe, whether friendly or hostile in politics or religion, wept for him; and his funeral in St. Paul's Cathedral was one of the 'sights' of the sixteenth century. Not a single note of discord was struck then, or has ever been struck since, as to the nobleness and beauty of his character. As to his literary merits, Spenser in poetry and Camden in prose singled him out as the marvel of his age; and Shakespeare as well as Spenser did him the supreme honour to 'crib' freely from his *Arcadia*. Yet none of his three famous books was printed in Sidney's own lifetime, and of no one of them can we be certain that he would ever have printed it as it stands.

ROBERT DUDLEY

EARL OF LEICESTER

(1532-1588)

favourite and courtier of Queen Elizabeth, was the fifth son of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and Jane Guildford. At the age of eighteen he married his first wife, Amy Robsart, whom he has been so often accused, but without sufficient evidence, of murdering in order to marry Elizabeth. He supported his father in the vain attempt to place Jane Grey on the throne in July 1553, was condemned to death for doing so, but pardoned in October 1554, went abroad and distinguished himself with his brother in the campaign against France in 1557. He received some kindness from Philip II, but his real fortunes began when Elizabeth on her accession made him her Master of the Horse. That she loved him and continued to love him in spite of frequent quarrels is a theory quite tenable; but the opposite theory, that she loved no one at all and merely employed Lord Robert as a stalking-horse against other suitors, is also tenable. Lady Amy Dudley died suddenly in 1560 at Cumnor, near Oxford, in circumstances that were at least suspicious, and part of the suspicion involved not only Lord Robert but the Queen as well. It is certain that the Queen carried open, but perhaps never secret flirtation with her Master of the Horse to the verge of impropriety; him almost alone of her courtiers she rewarded by really rich gifts of Crown lands, and him, in a moment of weakness, she named Protector of the realm in the event of her death, when she had her only



ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

recorded illness in 1562. That he on his part set himself to marry the Queen by all means in his power admits of no doubt; he told Spanish ambassadors that he would bring England back to Catholicism if Philip would help him to her hand; and he must have been considerably flabbergasted when the Queen gravely proposed him as a husband for her rival, Mary Queen of Scots. In order to fit him for the post she created him in 1564 Earl of Leicester. Of Cecil, as of the old Catholic nobles, Leicester, as prime favourite, was the incessant bugbear and terror; yet he was obliged sadly to confess that Cecil could do more with his mistress in an hour than he could do in seven years; and so he gradually pulled away from his temporary connexion with the Catholics, and began to court the rising Puritan party in Church and State: thus he was always more friendly with Walsingham than with Cecil, and Walsingham's steady friendship is perhaps a point in his favour. Leicester certainly knew of the conspiracy of the Northern Earls in 1569, and may perhaps have been thinking of providing for his own safety in the event of its success; but, on its failure, he had no difficulty in proving to Cecil that he had betrayed the conspirators. In 1571 he privately married a widow, Lady Sheffield, but never acknowledged the marriage; and seven years later married another widow, Lady Essex, thus becoming the step-father of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's last favourite. All this time Leicester professed to be supporting the successive pretensions of the two French Valois princes to Elizabeth's hand. In 1585 Elizabeth's fondness induced her to entrust him with the English army sent to succour the Protestant Netherlands in their struggle with Spain. The Earl displayed great extravagance and great incompetence; he allowed the States-General to name him to the Governorship of the Provinces, and thereby incurred much scolding from his mistress, and wasted much time, which would have been better employed in fighting the Spaniards, of which business Leicester did very little. He was recalled in November

158 ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER

1587, but his failure did not prevent the Queen from entrusting him with the command of her troops at Tilbury in August 1588, when the defeat of the Spanish Armada was yet hardly known. Early in the following month Leicester died suddenly. Perhaps the best thing that can be said for him is that he was a considerable patron of literature.



SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON

From the portrait in the possession of the Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON

(1540-1591)

Lord Chancellor, son of William Hatton and Alice Saunders, was born of an ancient family at Holmby or Holdenby, Northamptonshire, was educated at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and became a student at the Temple. In 1564 he 'commenced courtier', and, favoured by a handsome person and a quick wit, rose rapidly in the graces of Elizabeth:—

His bushy beard and shoe-strings green,
His high-crowned hat and satin doublet
Moved the stout heart of England's Queen,
Though Pope and Spaniard could not trouble it.

He appears to have been a faithful and on occasion an outspoken servant to the tyrannical mistress, who showered gifts of land and plate on him, and quarrelled with him less often than with any other of her statesmen-courtiers. Some indignation was expressed when, in 1587, he was preferred to be Lord Chancellor, but it was soon readily admitted that he made a very good one; he died, however, four years after his promotion, and his main service to the Crown was, perhaps, that he had been the constant exponent of the views of the Queen in the House of Commons, without ever losing the favour or encroaching on the privileges of that assembly.

RICHARD HOOKER

(d. 1600)

son of Roger Vowell, alias Hooker, was born at Exeter probably at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. His ancestors had held important municipal offices at Exeter, but his father was poor, and he would not have been able to extend his education beyond Exeter Grammar School but for the patronage of good Bishop Jewel, of Salisbury, who sent him to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he was afterwards elected a scholar. He became a profound student of Greek, Hebrew and theology, held for a short time the Mastership of the Temple, but preferred to retire in 1595 to a country living (Bishopsbourne, in Kent) for the purpose of study. Here he finished his notes for his famous work on the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, of which the first four books were published in 1593, and the fifth in 1597. The work was advertised to be completed 'in eight books', and at several dates during the seventeenth century books purporting to be the remaining three were issued, of which it is now agreed that the seventh and eighth are really from Hooker's notes, but that the sixth is an interpolation. It appears that, though several transcripts of the notes for the missing books were made by pupils of Hooker during his lifetime, the perfect copies, if they were ever finished, were destroyed by his wife immediately after his death. She seems to have been a domestic termagant as well as a violent Puritan. The great glory of the first five books is that they vindicate, against the narrow scriptural and the narrow traditional views of the basis of a Church, respectively maintained by Puritans and Catholics, the reasonableness of the Anglican position, and incidentally the reasonableness of civil society as resting on the consent of the community. Hooker was an emaciated little man, bowed and in ill health owing to constant study, and in character of the most profound humility and piety.



RICHARD HOOKER

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

Facr p. 160



JOHN JEWEL

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown

JOHN JEWEL

(1522-1571)

Bishop of Salisbury, was born in Devonshire and educated at Merton and Corpus Christi Colleges, Oxford: he was elected a Fellow of the latter society in 1542; his learning, which was very deep, naturally drew him to the Protestant side in the controversies of the age, but it was his friendship with Peter Martyr, in the reign of Edward VI, that first stamped his opinions. He took orders before 1551, but was deprived of his Fellowship on the accession of Mary, and was in danger of prosecution as a heretic. In 1554, at the date of the first 'disputation' of the Catholic party against Cranmer and Ridley, Jewel acted as 'notary' for the Reformers, but soon after signed some sort of recantation and then fled abroad, residing successively at Frankfurt, Strassburg, Zurich and Padua. On the accession of Elizabeth he at once returned to England, and was nominated in 1559 to the Bishopric of Salisbury. In 1562, he produced the most learned and satisfactory defence of the Anglican position given to the world before Richard Hooker's—and Hooker himself was Jewel's favourite pupil. Jewel's book was called *Apologia pro ecclesia Anglicana*, and was a direct appeal to the first six centuries of Christian tradition as against the Romish accretions on doctrine and practice. A long controversy followed, in which the good bishop more than held his own, and, which was rare in the ecclesiastical polemics of the day, kept his temper. He died, universally beloved, and, though worn out with study and hard work, still in active discharge of his duty, in 1571.

CHARLES HOWARD

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

(1536-1624)

better known as Lord Howard of Effingham, son of William, first Lord Howard of Effingham, and Margaret Gamage, was the Admiral in command of the English fleet against the Spanish Armada. His father had been Lord High Admiral and one of the mainstays of Queen Mary's throne; his own commission in that office ran from 1585 to 1618, when he resigned on account of his great age. It is probable that he, like all the rest of his family, was by heredity inclined to favour the Spanish alliance; and it is quite possible that he may have been at heart more of a Catholic than a Protestant. Yet he sat on many distinctly Protestant commissions, although he was not actually present at the trial of Mary Stuart. In the great ten days' fight with the Armada, Howard's prudence was probably of as great service as the dare-devil courage of some of his subordinates; and he afterwards spent large sums of his private fortune in relieving the fever-stricken sailors of the English fleet. But there was little of the 'Nelson touch' in this Lord High Admiral, and he seems to have frowned on the 'pirates' of the stamp of Drake, who were anxious to sweep the Spaniards from every sea in the world, and who could have done so. He was, however, a sound commander of the old school, and did good service at the capture of Cadiz in 1596. In 1598 he was created Earl of Nottingham, and retained the Queen's favour and that of her successor till his death. As commissioner and ambassador, he was one of the leaders in negotiating the treaty with Spain in 1605: and he was incessantly employed by King James in all business of State, though more on land than at sea. It is impossible to acquit him of allowing in his old age the proud traditions of the Elizabethan navy to be forgotten, and of winking at many abuses which crept into its administration.



CHARLES HOWARD, EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

CHARLES BLOUNT, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE

The second and third figures from the top on the right-hand side

The Conference of English and Spanish Plenipotentiaries in 1604, by Marcus Gheeraerts, in the National Portrait Gallery

CHARLES BLOUNT

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE

(1563-1606)

better known as Lord Mountjoy, was the son of James, Lord Mountjoy, and Katharine Leigh. He first appeared at Court in his twentieth year, and his handsome person at once attracted Elizabeth's attention, a fact which produced a duel with another courtier, Essex, afterwards Blount's greatest friend. He fought in the Low Countries and in France, succeeded his father in the peerage in 1594, and accompanied the expedition to the Azores, 1597. In the early days of 1600 he was chosen to retrieve Essex's mishandled venture at suppressing Tyrone's rebellion in Ireland, and he performed that task so well and thoroughly that Ireland remained quiet for forty years. While defeating Tyrone, Mountjoy had also to deal with a serious Spanish invasion, which had occupied Kinsale, but the Spaniards soon capitulated owing to his energetic measures. Mountjoy received the submission of Tyrone a few days after the Queen's death. He was in high favour with James, who in 1604 gave him an earldom, but he died in 1606. He lived in open adultery with Penelope Devereux, the wife of Lord Rich and sister of Essex, and eventually married her in the last year of his life.

SIR JOHN HAWKINS

(1532-1595)

was born at Plymouth, and bred as a sailor; it is possible that his father was a naval commander in the reign of Henry VIII. John appears in command of a 'venture' in 1562, trading to the Guinea coast for negroes which he sold in the West Indies, and therefore the credit, or discredit, of founding the English slave-trade must be ascribed to him. In spite of quarrels with the Spanish authorities, this voyage was so profitable that in 1564 a second was undertaken, in which the Queen of England was directly interested, with results of even greater profit; on this voyage Hawkins also explored the coast of Florida. A third voyage, in 1568, in company with his kinsman, Francis Drake, led to a direct collision with the Spaniards at St. Juan de Lua, from which Hawkins and Drake with difficulty escaped with the loss of five ships out of their flotilla of six, and with a heavy loss of the capital invested in the voyage. In 1573 Hawkins became Treasurer and Controller of the Navy, and thereby practically held the office of chief adviser on naval construction in the government dockyards: it was alleged, but not proved, that, while holding this post, he had made large private profit by fraudulent practices. If that was the case, much may be forgiven to the man who built the first-rates which pounded the Spanish Armada to matchwood in 1588. Hawkins commanded the *Victory* in the great fight of that year, and distinguished himself by such valour that he was knighted by the Lord High Admiral during the battle. After the victory he appears as one of the founders of the charitable institution for old sailors known as the 'Chest at Chatham', where he also built a hospital. He was with Drake on the last voyage to the Indies in 1595, and died off Porto Rico in the November of that year.



SIR JOHN HAWKINS

From the picture in the possession of Miss Stuart Hawkins

EDMUND SPENSER

(d. 1599)

was born in London, but of an old and gentle Lancashire family, about the year 1552. His father, John, was engaged in the clothing trade in London. Edmund was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, from whence he went to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as a sizar in 1569. He there became a first-rate and elegant scholar both in Latin and Greek, and, with the exception of Milton, he is the most learned of all our poets. He was also deeply read in French and Italian. He took his M.A. degree in 1576, and, after a sojourn in Lancashire, where he fell hopelessly in love, he appears in 1579 as an inmate of Leicester's household in London. Here, after some coquetting with the scheme, he successfully resisted his friend Gabriel Hervey's plan for writing English poetry in classical metre and according to the classical rules of prosody. Here also he formed a warm friendship with Leicester's nephew, Sir Philip Sidney; and here he conceived and began to write the *Faëry Queen*. Leicester seems to have employed him upon some small diplomatic missions, one of which took him to Ireland. The *Shepherd's Calendar*, perhaps after the *Faëry Queen* his most famous work, also belongs to this period and is avowedly written to Sidney: it is replete with the spirit of the pastoral poetry of the ancient world, and at once made the writer's reputation as a poet of the highest order. In 1580 Leicester got him an appointment in Ireland as secretary to Lord Grey de Wilton, who was putting down the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond, and in that capacity he met for the first time Sir Walter Raleigh. Like so many contemporary

Englishmen he loathed and lamented his lot of an 'exile' in Ireland, for the natives of which he displayed no sympathy; but it is only fair to say that in his one prose work, *A View of the Present State of Ireland*, written in 1597, he pointed out the main faults of the English government of that country also. After the suppression of the Desmond rebellion and the 'plantation' of Munster, Spenser received a large grant of land, over 3,000 acres, in County Cork, and Kilcolman, a castle on this property, remained his home, except on the occasions of two short visits to England in 1589 and 1595-7, until a few months before his death. Raleigh, in his manor of Youghal, became his neighbour, and energetically applauded the design of the *Faëry Queen*. But the poet was not happy even after the brilliant success of the first part of this great work, which he published in London in 1590, nor well off even after he had received a royal pension of £50 a year (1591). Many of his early poems were collected and published about the same time, and after his return to Ireland he wrote *Colin Clout's come Home again* (1595). He had already married Elizabeth Boyle (who was not his first love) in 1594, and at the end of 1595 he was again in London superintending the 'publication' of three more books of the *Faëry Queen*, which were as well received as the earlier instalment. In 1598 the Earl of Tyrone swept over the new Munster plantation with blood and fire: Spenser and his wife fled for their lives from their burning house, leaving behind their baby and perhaps lost books of the great epic; and a few months after the poet died in great poverty in London. But he was buried in Westminster Abbey and the Earl of Essex paid the funeral expenses.



EDMUND SPENSER

From the portrait at Pembroke College, Cambridge



HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON

From the portrait in the possession of the late Sir James Knowles

HENRY WRIOTHESLEY

THIRD EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON

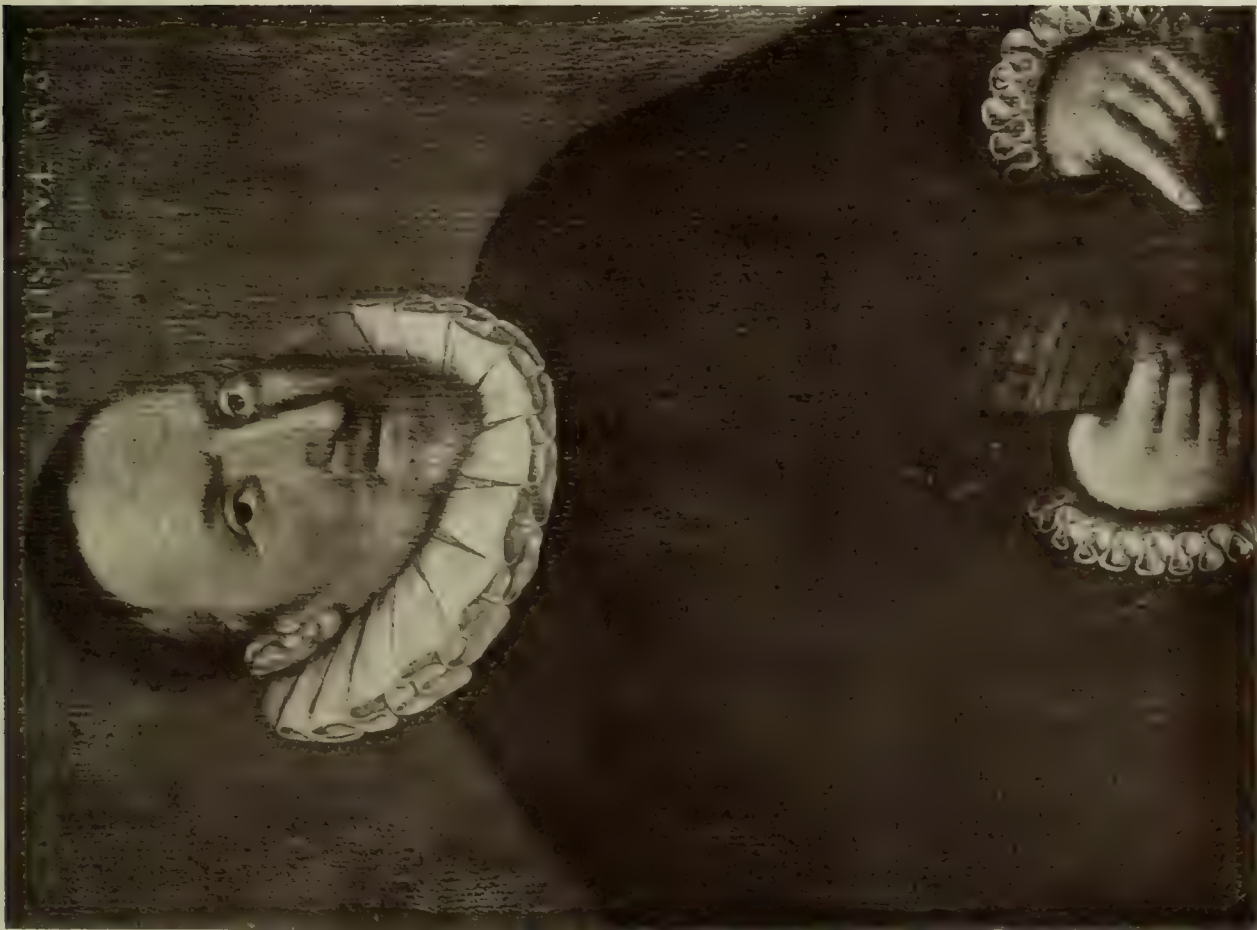
(1573-1624)

a distinguished courtier of the reign of Elizabeth and of James I, is most famous as being the first and only known patron of Shakespeare, the object of the dedication of the poet's two great poems of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*, probably the anonymous friend to whom the immortal Sonnets were written, and traditionally the patron who gave his friend a thousand pounds to enable him to purchase his house at Stratford. Besides Shakespeare, the Earl befriended Nash, Barnes, Markham and Florio, and was an ardent lover of the drama in all its forms. He was a warm ally of the impetuous and unfortunate Earl of Essex, beside whom he had fought at Cadiz and with whom he engaged in the abortive rebellion of February 1601; both Earls were condemned to death, and Southampton, though respited, remained in the Tower for the rest of the Queen's reign. James I at once liberated him and employed him in numerous ways. He was an early and intelligent patron of colonization and trade, and a shareholder both in the Virginia and East India Companies. But, passionate and headstrong, and devoted to the memory of Essex, he was always regarded with hostility by Essex's old enemy, Lord Salisbury, and in later years he refused to 'kotos' to the favourite Buckingham, protested against the proposed Spanish match, and died of fever in the Low Countries, whither he had gone to serve as a volunteer against the Spaniards in 1624. Licentious in early life, and vain of his extreme personal beauty, he did much to redeem these defects by his high sense of honour and his spirited opposition to measures of which he did not approve.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM

(*d.* 1590)

son of James Walsingham and Joyce Denny, and nephew of Sir Edmund Walsingham, who was Henry VIII's Lieutenant of the Tower, was probably born about 1530. He was entered at King's College, Cambridge, though he seems never to have taken a degree, and he was a member of Gray's Inn in the last year of Edward VI. During Mary's reign he took refuge abroad, as did many other zealous Protestants, and during his exile became an accomplished linguist and student of human nature. From the accession of Elizabeth, when he returned to England, he became a zealous member of the House of Commons, and was able through his foreign correspondents to keep Cecil informed of many important events on the Continent. He was employed upon several diplomatic missions by Elizabeth; in particular he negotiated the Treaty of Blois with France in 1572, and was in Paris as ambassador at the date of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. But none of his missions were crowned with special success, because his outspoken Protestant zeal led him to undervalue the results obtained by the Queen's policy of vacillation. He never ceased to remonstrate with her on this subject, and one is surprised when one reads the remonstrances which she tolerated from his pen. In 1573 he became Secretary of State in succession to Cecil, now Lord Burghley, and it is no exaggeration to say that on his skill in unravelling plots, and on that alone, the life of the Queen, and with that life the future of an independent Protestant England, really depended. In particular it



SIR FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM

From the portrait at Penshurst in the possession of Lord De L'Isle

Face p. 163



ROBERT DEVEREUX, SECOND EARL OF ESSEX

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery

Painter unknown

was his pertinacity in tracking out the Babington Conspiracy of 1585 that brought Mary Stuart to the block. His methods were neither more nor less subtle or cruel than those of his contemporaries abroad: he had spies in every Court and in half the mercantile communities of Europe; and on occasions he did not spare the rack in order to extract evidence.

He died in 1590 a poor man who had spent his private fortune in the service of the State and received almost no reward for doing so; but in spite of his poverty he was a benefactor to both Universities and an eager patron both of literature and exploration. His only daughter became successively the wife of Sir Philip Sidney and of the Earl of Essex.

ROBERT DEVEREUX

SECOND EARL OF ESSEX

(1567-1601)

the last of Queen Elizabeth's favourites, was the son of Walter Devereux, first Earl of Essex, and Lettice Knollys. On his father's death, 1576, Lord Burghley became his guardian, and his mother married the famous Earl of Leicester. He entered at Trinity, Cambridge, when only twelve years of age, but does not appear to have been regular in his residence, though he became a fair scholar. He was early presented at Court, where the Queen did her best to 'spoil' him; and from his twentieth and her own fifty-fourth year she indulged in many flirtations with him, but also in many quarrels, in the course of which his hot temper and jealousy always allowed her to get the better. But the Queen's affection for him was genuine, and, at bottom, more of a maternal than of an amatory character; she was always in anxiety when he went to the wars, which he often did (sometimes against her express command), and in which he always behaved himself with conspicuous daring. Thus he was knighted on the field of battle at Zutphen, where Sidney fell; he 'ran away' and joined the 'Counter Armada' of 1589, and he was always crying out for open war with Spain and for an efficient army. But he was also perpetually quarrelling with his rivals at Court or in camp; now with Raleigh, now with Blount, now with the Cecils; and his idea of a quarrel was, if possible, to fight a duel to the death. In 1590 he incurred for a time the Queen's severest displeasure by marrying Sir Philip Sidney's widow, the

daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham; next year we find him commanding, with more valour than discretion, a small English force sent to France to succour Henry IV against the Catholic League. Whenever he is abroad, he is always complaining, and with reason, of the way in which his rivals, especially Robert Cecil, are undermining his influence at home. One of the most curious episodes in his life is the friendship he formed with the two Bacons, Francis and Anthony; it seems probable that the former, believing Essex to be the 'coming man', deliberately attached himself to the Earl's fortune and gave him good advice, which Essex was too impetuous to take. Essex was perpetually soliciting the Queen, but in vain, for preferment for his new friend. In 1596 came the expedition to Spain, in which Essex commanded the land forces which stormed Cadiz, while, against his advice, the sailors let the Spanish treasure-fleet escape; but in his next expedition, known as the 'Islands' voyage' to the Azores, Essex was not so successful.

Finally all Essex's enemies were rejoiced when he teased his fond mistress into giving him command of the great expedition to Ireland in 1599. Ireland was the grave of his brilliant father's reputation and of that of many more. The Earl's preparations were extensive and well planned; but he had to face the worst rebellion yet known in the island and the certainty that Spanish help to it was not far off. Once in Ireland he seems to have lost his head; instead of driving straight at Ulster and at the Earl of Tyrone, the leading rebel, he made a senseless progress through Munster, and, when at last he turned northwards, he allowed himself to be entrapped into a parley by the wily Irishman, the result of which was that he concluded a wholly unauthorized truce, and undertook to present Tyrone's demands to the English government. The Queen was absolutely furious, and her favourite made matters worse by deserting his army and hurrying to England. He was not immediately imprisoned, but kept in 'seclusion' for nine months: in June 1600 he was brought to trial before a special court, and it

is characteristic of Francis Bacon that he, who had advised the Earl to apply for the Irish command, and hoped to make his own fortune by him, appeared against him on his trial. No actual sentence beyond dismissal from his offices and imprisonment in his own house was recorded against Essex, and he was set at liberty in August. But he had lost the favour of the Queen for good, and this disgrace was one under which his restless nature could not be quiet. He knew well that Cecil and other courtiers were his sworn enemies, and he now entertained the absurd idea of an appeal to force. He intrigued with James VI to induce him to support a rising, and with his friend Lord Mountjoy, who had succeeded to his command in Ireland, imploring him to land troops in Wales; but his only real accomplice was Shakespeare's patron, the Earl of Southampton. The rash Essex was a bad head for any insurrection, and the London mob, with whom he was really popular, was not so foolish as to rise against Queen Elizabeth. There was, however, actually something like a small riot when Essex and Southampton were seized and sent to the Tower. The former was beheaded on February 25, 1601, and there is good reason for believing that the Queen broke her aged heart when she signed his death-warrant.

Vain and rash beyond any one of his age, lacking any real measure of statesmanship, Robert Devereux had been lifted by the accidents of his birth into a position for which he was wholly unfitted; yet he possessed in a marked degree qualities which endeared him even to those with whom he quarrelled most—utter frankness, warm affection and generosity, and in war the courage of a Paladin of romance.



SIR T. GRESHAM

From the portrait by Sir Anthonis Mor in the
National Portrait Gallery

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM

(d. 1579)

son of Sir Richard Gresham, Lord Mayor of London, was born before 1522, educated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and followed his father in a mercantile career, but always upon a magnificent scale. He was an excellent scholar and linguist (accomplishments to-day unusual among rich young 'men in the city'), and was several times employed by Henry VIII upon diplomatic or other business abroad. During the reign of Edward VI he was frequently residing at Antwerp, negotiating with foreign bankers and merchants for loans to his government, and, after a temporary removal owing to his strong Protestant convictions, Mary's ministers were obliged to beg him to resume his good offices on the Queen's behalf. The restoration of English credit under Elizabeth, after the disastrous debasement of the coinage practised by the last three sovereigns, was very largely carried out on plans laid down by Gresham; he also became the Queen's most valued political agent in the Low Countries, which he constantly visited, and gave her early notice of dangerous Spanish moves. He was knighted in 1559. He was not above stealing arms, powder, &c., from the Spaniards and sending them over to England in cases labelled 'velvet', and the like. In 1569 he came to reside permanently in England, having no doubt made a handsome private fortune out of his transactions with his own and foreign governments. After the loss of his only son he devoted a great part of his wealth to the erection of the Royal Exchange in London, on the same site as the present building. He also planned, and in part carried out, another foundation—a College on the model of the Cambridge Colleges to be established in London. Gresham died in 1579, the greatest merchant-prince of the sixteenth century, and the forerunner of many great merchant-financiers of later times.

ANTONY WOODVILLE

SECOND EARL RIVERS

(*d.* 1483)

son of Richard Woodville, first Earl Rivers, and Jacquetta, Duchess of Bedford, was the brother of Edward IV's Queen ; he first appears in 1460 as fighting on the Lancastrian side, but transferred his allegiance and, after his sister's marriage, was loaded with wealth and honours by the Yorkist King. He was a curious product of that bloodstained age, for not only was he a considerable scholar and author, the earliest patron of Caxton and the translator of the first book printed in England, but also, in the last twelve years of his life, a devotee and an ascetic. He was incessantly going upon pilgrimages, and throwing up secular offices to do so, and after his execution a hair shirt was found next to his skin. On the death of Edward IV he was at Ludlow with his nephew Edward V, and at once started for London, intending to confront and probably to overthrow Richard of Gloucester, who had become Protector ; but that astute murderer was too quick for his rival, and, after an apparently friendly meeting, arrested the Earl and sent him to be beheaded at Pontefract, June 1483.



ANTONY WOODVILLE, SECOND EARL RIVERS

Taken from the MS. of Dictes and Sayings of the
Philosophers at Lambeth Palace

(Detail enlarged)



WILLIAM OF WAYNFLETE

From the portrait at Magdalen College



HENRY CHICHELEY

From the portrait at Lambeth Palace



ELIZABETH WOODVILLE

From the portrait at Queens' College, Cambridge

WILLIAM OF WAYNFLETE

(1395-1486)

son of Richard Patten and Margery Brereton, both of gentle blood, was born at Waynflete, Lincolnshire, educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, and patronized by Cardinal Beaufort. He took orders in 1420, was one of the first batch of Fellows of Eton College, 1440, Head Master in 1442 and Provost in the next year. He succeeded Beaufort as Bishop of Winchester in 1447, and immediately set about his great foundation of Magdalen College at Oxford. This task he pursued, through all the changes of the political horizon of that stormy time, with single-hearted and generous devotion; and at the end of his long life he entertained, in the earliest completed buildings of that architectural miracle, two successive Kings of England—in 1481 Edward IV and in July 1483 Richard III, when that amiable monarch was busy arranging, or had just arranged, for the demise of his nephews in the Tower of London. The Bishop had been left executor to Sir John Fastolf, who by will charged him to found a College at Caistor; but, by means of a Papal bull, he was able to divert Fastolf's estates to his own foundation at Magdalen. He was also a munificent benefactor to Eton, to New College and to Winchester.

In politics he had been a convinced and warm supporter of the Lancastrian dynasty, implicitly trusted by the sainted Henry VI, whose Great Seal he held as Chancellor from 1456 to 1460; on the first fall of the Lancastrian dynasty the Bishop was for nearly a year in grave danger and in hiding, but reconciled himself to the new government by the end of 1461 and thenceforward served all governments, even, as we have seen, Richard III's. It was probably the only thing that a man whose whole heart was wrapped up in his collegiate foundations could do in that age; and it is evident that Waynflete earned the respect of all good men of both parties.

HENRY CHICHELEY

(d. 1443)

Archbishop of Canterbury and Founder of All Souls College, Oxford, was born, probably about 1362, of good yeoman stock on the father's side and of gentle blood on the side of his mother, Agnes Pyncheon. He was educated at New College, Oxford, and devoted himself to the study of civil and canon law. After holding various livings and being employed by the Crown on various missions, he was nominated to the See of St. Davids in 1408, was present as English Envoy at the Council of Pisa, 1409, and became Archbishop in 1414. In this capacity he combated, successfully as long as Henry V lived, the extravagant pretensions of the Papacy, moderated the cruel persecution of the Lollards, which his predecessor had instituted, and kept a firm hand on the would-be legate and would-be cardinal, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. But after the death of his royal friend the Archbishop was constantly assailed by the most monstrous claims of Popes Martin V and Eugenius IV, who, having overcome councils and disunited nationalities, were in a position to make the power of the Roman See more felt than it had been for over a century. Beaufort of course supported the Pope, which sometimes led Chicheley to support Beaufort's rival, the unworthy Duke of Gloucester, though as a rule he aimed mainly at reconciling the two English factions. In 1440 the Pope raised Kemp, Archbishop of York, to the Cardinalate, merely in order to tease the loyalty of the national-hearted Primate, whom he at last worried into an offer to resign, in the eightieth year of his age, the burden of his See. Chicheley, however, died before this could be accomplished.

The good Archbishop was a munificent benefactor to the University of Oxford and to his native village; and his name is for ever connected with his great foundation of All Souls College, which he happily lived to see completed and dedicated in the last year of his life. Lyndwood, the greatest English authority on canon law, was his vicar-general at Canterbury.

ELIZABETH WOODVILLE

(d. 1492)

Queen of Edward IV, daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, first Earl Rivers, and Jacquetta, Duchess of Bedford, of the great house of Luxemburg, was probably born in 1437. Her first husband was Sir John Grey of Groby, a Lancastrian, who fell at St. Albans in 1461. By him she had two sons, Thomas and Richard, and it was when she was supplicating King Edward IV for the restoration of their estates that he fell in love with her. He married her privately in 1464, and, when the marriage had to be declared, it at once provoked the hostility of the family of Neville, which had put Edward on the throne. The rivalry of the Nevilles with the Woodvilles soon succeeded to that of the Yorkists and Lancastrians, for Elizabeth was a greedy, unscrupulous woman who insisted on the King showering lands and wealth on all her relations. She bore Edward numerous children, the best of whom was her eldest daughter, Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Henry VII: the best known were the 'Princes in the Tower', Edward V and his brother Richard, Duke of York, afterwards murdered by their uncle Richard III. The elder of these boys was born while Edward was in exile in 1470 and the Queen had 'taken sanctuary' at Westminster. On the death of Edward IV the unpopularity of the whole Woodville family was at once manifest, and the Queen had to take sanctuary again. The most extraordinary point in her career was reached when the wily Richard tempted her to come to his Court again, and she went through some sort of reconciliation with him, the murderer of her sons. Henry VII never trusted her, and in 1487 she went to reside in the nunnery at Bermondsey on a pension. The refoundation of Queens' College, Cambridge, in the beautiful gallery of which there is an authenticated portrait of her, is the only good thing recorded of her.

HENRY GREY

DUKE OF SUFFOLK

(*d.* 1554)

eldest son of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and Margaret Wotton, succeeded his father in the Marquisate in 1530. He married Frances, elder daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VII, and became the father of the Ladies Jane and Katharine Grey. He was a weak, unprincipled creature, who owed his importance entirely to his marriage and his wealth. He followed Northumberland, who gave him in 1551 the Dukedom of Suffolk, was involved in the attempt of that schemer to change the succession in June 1553, and displayed cowardice when the plot failed and the lives of himself and his daughter Jane were in grave danger. For the moment he escaped with a fine, but, when Wyatt's revolt broke out, he fled to the Midlands and tried to raise his own tenantry against Queen Mary. This attempt collapsed; he went into hiding, was discovered, found guilty of high treason and executed in February 1554. The best thing that can be said for him is that he was a firm Protestant, and he met his death with courage.



HENRY GREY, DUKE OF SUFFOLK

From the portrait by Joannes Corvus in the
National Portrait Gallery



ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES

From the portrait belonging to the King at
Windsor Castle



EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVON

From the portrait in the possession of the
Earl of Devon

Face p. 178



THOMAS HOWARD
SECOND DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G.

From the portrait in the possession of the
Duke of Norfolk, K.G.

ARTHUR, PRINCE OF WALES

(1486-1502)

eldest son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, was born at Winchester and christened after the mythic Hero-King of Britain. His tutor from his tenth year was Bernard Andreas, and the Prince gave early signs of high intellectual attainments. Negotiations for his marriage with a Spanish princess began when he was two, but the marriage with Katharine 'of Arragon' only took place in November 1501, when he was just fifteen. The young couple went to Ludlow Castle, but Arthur died in the following April, leaving Katharine a virgin bride to be betrothed to his brother, Prince Henry.

EDWARD COURTENAY

EARL OF DEVON

(*d.* 1556)

son of Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter (grandson of Edward IV), and Gertrude Blount, was born about 1526. When the families of Pole and Courtenay fell under the wrath of Henry VIII, owing to the attempts of Reginald Pole to sow treason in England, the boy Edward was sent to the Tower at the age of twelve and remained there for fifteen years, being only released at the accession of Queen Mary, who showed him the greatest favour and gave him the Earldom of Devon. He was in fact the candidate of Gardiner and the Anglo-Catholic party for the hand of the Queen; but, when it became obvious that Mary was to marry the Prince of Spain, Courtenay entertained treasonable ideas of marrying Elizabeth and raising an insurrection; only one part of this plan, Wyatt's revolt in Kent, actually bore fruit. Courtenay was sent back to the Tower, and, in 1555, sent off to travel and 'improve his mind'. He went to Brussels and thence to Italy, and died in Padua in 1556. He was an exceedingly handsome man, but, having practically spent his life in prison, he knew nothing of the world, and, on his first release, immediately plunged into debauchery, which killed him early. He was the last scion of the Plantagenet race who was really dangerous to the Tudor throne.

THOMAS HOWARD

SECOND DUKE OF NORFOLK

(1443-1524)

better known as the Earl of Surrey, and the victor of Flodden, was the son of John, first Duke of Norfolk, and Katharine Moleyns. He was in his youth a loyal partisan of the House of York, and even acquiesced in the usurpation of Richard III, for whom he fought at Bosworth, where his father fell. Henry VII, after attainting him and keeping him for three years in the Tower, released him and restored to him his Earldom of Surrey, and he thenceforward served the Tudors loyally till his death. He watched the Scottish border against Perkin Warbeck in 1497, and became, on the accession of Henry VIII, one of the leaders in the Privy Council. By sound strategy he outmanœuvred the King of Scots in September 1513, and by sound tactics overpowered the enormous Scottish army, though at a heavy cost to his own, on Flodden Field. For this service the Dukedom of Norfolk was restored to him in the next year. He never really liked Wolsey, and resisted his power and thwarted his policy as long as he could; but was at last obliged to bow to the King's wishes—and as a proof of this was compelled to preside, in his extreme old age, at the judicial murder of his friend the Duke of Buckingham, 1521.

LORD WILLIAM HOWARD

(1510-1573)

first Lord Howard of Effingham, was the son of Thomas Howard, second Duke of Norfolk, and was constantly employed in the latter years of Henry VIII both in diplomacy and war. In the reign of Edward VI he was for one year Captain of Calais, and was the protector of Mary against the wiles of Northumberland in the summer of 1553. That Queen created him High Admiral, and he defended the city of London valiantly against Sir Thomas Wyatt. He was sent in command of the English fleet to fetch the Prince of Spain to marry Mary, and would have been more trusted by the Queen than he was in her later years had he not been such a resolute champion of the rights of succession of the Princess Elizabeth. He was so disgusted with the bloodshed of the last year of Mary that he resigned his office of Admiral. Under Elizabeth he negotiated the peace with France in 1559 and, though a faithful Catholic, valiantly took the royal side against the rebel earls in 1569, thus closing a public life of unblemished loyalty by a supreme exercise of that virtue.



LORD WILLIAM HOWARD

From the portrait in the possession of the
Earl of Effingham



THOMAS HOWARD
THIRD DUKE OF NORFOLK

From the portrait by Holbein in the possession
of the Duke of Norfolk, K.G.



THOMAS LORD SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY

From the portrait by Holbein in the possession of the
Marquess of Bath



HENRY FITZALAN
TWELFTH EARL OF ARUNDEL

From the portrait by Holbein in the possession of the
Marquess of Bath

THOMAS HOWARD

THIRD DUKE OF NORFOLK

(1473-1554)

eldest son of Thomas, second Duke, and Elizabeth Tilney, was married in 1495 to the Princess Anne, daughter of Edward IV. He fought valiantly in the early wars of Henry VIII, including the Battle of Flodden, shortly before which he had married, as his second wife, a daughter of the last Duke of Buckingham. He succeeded in 1522 to his father's office of Lord Treasurer, and two years afterwards to his Dukedom. He was the implacable enemy of Wolsey and the chief agent in using his own niece, Anne Boleyn, to upset that minister. Yet in 1536 he presided over Anne's trial, and became the pliant agent of Henry's will. He successfully put down the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1537 and avenged it with bloody executions; but in the latter years of Henry's reign he was closely *lié* with Stephen Gardiner and the reactionary Catholic party. His second niece, Katharine Howard, was an even more unsuccessful venture as Queen than his first. From the marriage of Henry with Katharine Parr, in 1543, the influence of the Howards was on the wane, and the indiscretion of Norfolk's son Surrey, who had unquestionably talked treason, if he were not prepared to act it, led to the arrest of father and son and the death of the latter. Early in 1547 the Duke was attainted and condemned; Henry had signed his death-warrant and his head was to have fallen on January 28, but during the night before the King died. Norfolk remained peaceably in the Tower during the reign of Edward, and was among the prisoners released by Mary at her accession. He had the satisfaction of presiding at the trial of Northumberland; was sent to check the insurrection of Wyatt on the Kentish road (Feb. 1554), but failed to do so, and retired to die on his East Anglian estates.

In private life he was brutal and of ill repute: in public, a merely pliant tool of his great but brutal master.

THOMAS SEYMOUR

LORD SEYMOUR OF SUDELEY

(*d.* 1549)

son of Sir John Seymour and Margery Wentworth, was probably born about 1508. He was the brother of Queen Jane and of Edward, Duke of Somerset, Protector at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. He courted Katharine Parr in 1543, but Henry VIII took her to wife first, and Thomas married her only after the King's death. He distinguished himself in Henry's last French war, and was successively Master of the Ordnance and an Admiral in 1544; Lord High Admiral and a peer on the accession of Edward. But he at once began to intrigue against his brother the Protector, got hold of two ladies of royal blood, the Princess Elizabeth and Jane Grey, and began a violent flirtation with the former, now aged fifteen, to the great horror of his new wife, the widowed Queen Katharine, who soon died, perhaps of ill-treatment. Further, he tried to corrupt the young King and to alienate his affections from the Protector. He appears to have gone about threatening every one whom he disliked, and he fortified his own castles in an alarming fashion. Among his other eccentricities, he entered into a bargain with some famous pirates of the Scilly Islands for a share in their prizes. Somerset did all he could to wean his brother from these dangerous courses, but was at last obliged to arrest him; he was attainted of high treason and executed in the spring of 1549. No one had a good word to say for such a thorough scoundrel.

HENRY FITZALAN TWELFTH EARL OF ARUNDEL

(*d.* 1580)

son of William Fitzalan, eleventh Earl, and Anne Percy, was probably born about 1511. He is one of the most interesting of the Tudor nobles, because, though of older creation than any one who played a leading part at the Courts of Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, his attitude and aims seem closely to have resembled those of the 'new nobility'. He succeeded to his title in 1544, and distinguished himself greatly in Henry VIII's last French war. He bore very high office at the Court of the next three sovereigns, and was in close attendance on their persons. Not over friendly to Somerset while Somerset held the Protectorate, he was from the first an object of suspicion to Warwick (Northumberland), who had him fined and imprisoned in 1550 and again, under a false charge of conspiracy with Somerset, in 1551-2. He protested as long as he could against the proposed change in the succession in 1553, and, when he at last agreed to it, did so with the avowed intention of betraying its author, Northumberland, on the first opportunity. Thus he was one of the main agents in seating Mary on the throne, and during her reign was the constant defender of Elizabeth's right of succession. He protested, with Paget, in the Marian Parliaments against the reintroduction of the persecuting statutes. Elizabeth, though confirming him in all his offices, was unable to put much confidence in a man of such avowed Catholic and pro-Spanish proclivities. She repeatedly visited him and received magnificent presents from him, but could hardly avoid looking on him as a 'dangerous man'.

Thus he was closely *lié* with the Duke of Norfolk, who was his son-in-law, and was a steady enemy of Cecil's. At one time there was talk of him as a possible bridegroom for the Queen. But in 1569 he was undoubtedly implicated in the rebellion of the Northern Earls, was a champion of the Queen of Scots, and was therefore confined to his own house for many weeks; and again confined in 1571-2 after the failure of Ridolfi's plot. He died in retirement in 1580. He was a great benefactor to his native county of Sussex, for it was he who conceived and carried out the scheme for making the river Arun navigable.

HUGH O'NEILL

SECOND EARL OF TYRONE

(*d.* 1616)

was believed to be the son of Con, first Earl of that name : his early years (he was probably born about 1540) were spent in contests to get himself recognized as 'The O'Neill', a chieftainship vacant since the death of the famous rebel Shane O'Neill in 1567. He sat in the Irish Parliament of 1585 as Earl of Tyrone, and the English government was inclined to favour his claims. But he was only gradually feeling his feet, and, early in the decade 1590-1600, the Lord Deputy was watching him closely. In 1594 he broke out in open rebellion and intrigued with Philip of Spain for assistance. He was ready enough to submit when the Spanish ships failed to come, and for four more years successive Lords Deputies allowed themselves to be duped by him, until, in August 1598, he broke out again, and cut to pieces Sir Henry Bagenal and a large English force at the 'Yellow Ford' on the Blackwater. He then overran the whole of Munster and destroyed the English 'plantation', or colony, there. The first English general sent against him after this was Elizabeth's favourite, Essex, who completely failed, and allowed himself to be entrapped into a parley (1599) ; but Lord Mountjoy (1600) acted in a very different fashion, although his task was made harder by the fact that Philip did actually send the long-expected assistance in the shape of 4,000 Spaniards under Don Juan d'Aquila, who landed at Kinsale. Tyrone, whom Mountjoy was already pressing hard in Ulster, hastened southwards to effect a junction with his allies ; but Mountjoy was before him, and utterly defeated him in 1601 outside

Kinsale, whereon the Spaniards were obliged to surrender. Tyrone escaped and kept up a desultory warfare without a chance of success till 1603, when he surrendered on April 3, in ignorance of the fact that Elizabeth had died a few days before. He then paid a visit to London and was well received by James, but again tried in 1607 to raise Ulster, this time quite in vain; and so, in company with the Earl of Tyrconnel, he fled to France and ultimately to Rome, where he died in 1616. He was by far the most dangerous Irish rebel in Elizabeth's reign, for he was a man of some education, and taught his troops to use fire-arms.



HUGH O'NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE

From the portrait in the South Kensington Museum



THOMAS WYATT

From a portrait in the possession of the
Dowager Countess of Romney



GEORGE BUCHANAN

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



ISAAC CASAUBON

From the portrait in the Bodleian Library
Oxford

SIR THOMAS WYATT

(d. 1554)

son of Sir Thomas Wyatt the poet and Elizabeth Brooke, succeeded to his father's property in Kent in 1542. He was a friend of the turbulent young Earl of Surrey, who was beheaded in the last year of Henry VIII, and distinguished himself in Henry's last French war. He was absent in France during the early part of Edward's reign, and suddenly appeared in arms in January 1554 in his native county of Kent, as a protester against the proposed Spanish marriage of Queen Mary. It is probable that he was instigated to this by Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and it is said that after his arrest he vainly urged Courtenay to exculpate him. The main point about his insurrection is that it was very nearly successful, and gave a very rude shock to Queen Mary's throne, which was only saved by the devotion of the loyal Londoners and the energy of Lord William Howard. Wyatt, after winning over to his side the first royalist army sent to arrest him, advanced up the Dover-London road in great force, but was unable to cross the bridge from Southwark, and had to go up the river as far as Kingston before he could get over; and this gave the government time to arm against him. He surrendered at Ludgate on February 8, was condemned and executed.

GEORGE BUCHANAN

(1506-1582)

tutor of King James VI and I and historian of Scotland, was born of poor but gentle parents in Stirlingshire, and educated at the Universities of Paris and St. Andrews. He narrowly escaped the persecution of David Beaton at the end of James V's reign and fled to Bordeaux, where he lectured and became the tutor of Montaigne. After a further residence at Paris, in Portugal and in Italy, he returned to Scotland some time before 1562, and was one of the leaders in the establishment of the Scottish Reformed Church, acting once as Moderator of the General Assembly (1567) and as Principal of St. Leonard's College at the University of St. Andrews. He was already acknowledged as one of the first of European scholars, and did much for the establishment of sound traditions of scholarship in Scotland. At the date of Queen Mary's flight into England, and at the 'conferences' held at York and Westminster about her guilt, Buchanan was present as an agent of the Earl of Moray and has been accused of having forged the celebrated casket letters; certainly he believed in Mary's guilt. In 1569 he was appointed tutor to little King James, who always acknowledged the immense services which 'Mr. George' had rendered to him. In 1579 he published *De Jure Regni*, a defence of (very much) limited monarchy, which, from its learning, its elegant Latinity and its fearless logic, proved to the Whig writers of the seventeenth century an inexhaustible quarry of their political principles. A few months after his death was published his *Historia Scotorum*, which he had continued almost to his own time, and which, though its author swallowed all the early legends, remains perhaps the best and most trustworthy history of Scotland for the three centuries preceding the Reformation. Buchanan was an ardent partisan and a man of hot temper, who has been suspected of garbling facts in his writings, but this is an allegation difficult to prove.

ISAAC CASAUBON

(1559-1614)

born at Geneva of Gascon Protestant parents, became at an early age one of the greatest Greek scholars that ever lived. He appears to have studied principally by himself at Geneva. Poverty oppressed him all his early life, even after his introduction to Scaliger, but in 1596 he received a professional appointment at Montpellier in France: from thence he moved to Paris, where many efforts were made to convert him to Catholicism. In 1610, finding his own theological position more in accordance with the English than with the Genevan or Roman churches, he accepted a prebend at Canterbury and became a naturalized Englishman. He at once entered into a warm friendship with the good Bishop Andrewes; the King also delighted in his learned conversation and gave him a pension. He was a most voluminous commentator on, and translator of classical authors, such as Strabo, Polybius, Theophrastus, Suetonius and especially of Athenaeus, as well as of the Greek and Latin fathers of the Church, and an acute controversialist on the errors of Catholic historians. He died worn out with hard study in 1614.

EDMUND GRINDAL

(d. 1583)

Archbishop of Canterbury, came of yeoman stock in Cumberland, and was educated at Magdalene, Christ's and Pembroke, Cambridge; of the latter Hall he became Master on the accession of Elizabeth. He fell under the notice of Ridley in 1549, and was patronized by him throughout the reign of Edward VI, who made him a royal chaplain (1552). He fled to Germany on Mary's accession and exerted himself to keep peace between contending sects of the English exiles. Soon after his return to England, in 1559, he succeeded Bonner as Bishop of London; and he bore a share in the final revision of the Prayer Book. But, as Bishop, he was too 'Puritan' to please the Queen, and too moderate to please the Puritans of his diocese; and, after many small disputes, he was in 1570 translated to York, where were no Puritans, but only Papists to be brought into conformity. Grindal was then and always an advocate of gentle measures, and would no doubt have made his mark at York, but, in 1575, Cecil persuaded the Queen against her will to make him Archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Matthew Parker. When in the next year he refused to put down the so-called 'prophesyings', that is, prayer-meetings of the stricter Puritan clergy, the Queen was very angry, and suspended him for six months from exercising his functions, either spiritual or judicial. She even tried to make him resign his See, but this he refused to do. He was soon restored to his spiritual, and in the last year of his life to his judicial functions also, but blindness was creeping on him and he died in 1583. Perhaps the gentlest and most personally lovable of the three successive occupants of the See of Canterbury in the reign of Elizabeth, he was certainly the least distinguished and the least fitted to cope with the difficulties of the time.



EDMUND GRINDAL

From the portrait at Lambeth Palace



HENRY CAREY, FIRST LORD HUNSDON

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery

Painter unknown

HENRY CAREY

FIRST LORD HUNSDON

(*d.* 1596)

son of William Carey and Mary Boleyn, and so first cousin of Queen Elizabeth, was born about 1524, and received his peerage at the beginning of the Queen's reign. He was busy during most of his life in keeping the peace upon the Scots border, for he first was Warden of the Eastern Marches, and afterwards of all the Scottish Marches. He was most successful in this capacity, helped to suppress the rebellion of 1569, hung scores of border thieves and pacified King James after the execution of Queen Mary. He was also Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and kept the greedy courtiers in order. He was an honest, rough, uncultured man, but a faithful servant to his Queen and country.

THOMAS SACKVILLE

FIRST EARL OF DORSET

(1536-1608)

perhaps better known as Lord Buckhurst, son of Sir Richard Sackville, was a splendid courtier of the reign of Elizabeth, as well as a really considerable poet. The *Mirror for Magistrates* was in part, and the *Complaint of the Duke of Buckingham* almost wholly composed by him, and Spenser acknowledged his own great obligations to Sackville's poetry. He was also part author of the first English tragedy (1561), called the *Tragedy of Gorboduc*. He was created Lord Buckhurst in 1567, and was constantly employed by Elizabeth upon embassies to foreign courts. It was he who had the cruel task of announcing her death-sentence to Queen Mary; and on Burghley's death in 1598 he succeeded to the post of Lord Treasurer, an office which he retained for the rest of his life. James created him Earl of Dorset in 1604. He was also, from 1591, Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He died leaving an unstained reputation, while actually sitting at the Council Board.



THOMAS SACKVILLE, FIRST EARL OF DORSET

From the portrait in the possession of Lord Sackville



JOHN FOXE

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



GEORGE WISHART

From the portrait belonging to Glasgow University

JOHN FOXE

(1516-1587)

the martyrologist, was born at Boston, Lincs., educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, of which he became a Fellow in 1539, and early embraced extreme Protestantism. He became tutor to the orphan sons of the Earl of Surrey (one of whom was the Catholic Duke of Norfolk, executed by Elizabeth), and was ordained in the reign of Edward, fled abroad under Queen Mary, and, perhaps foreseeing what was coming, published in 1554 an account of the persecutions of the early reformers. This became the origin of his more famous *Acts and Monuments*. Much controversy took place among the English exiles at Frankfurt and elsewhere as to the use of the Edwardian liturgy, and Foxe endeavoured to mediate between the parties of Knox and Cox. He continued to labour at his work and by 1559 had brought it down to the end of Mary's reign, and published it in Latin. He returned to England early in Elizabeth's reign and began to translate the book into English, finishing it in 1563. Its success was enormous and immediate, and in 1571 Convocation ordered copies of the second edition to be placed in all cathedral churches. Foxe died a Prebend of Salisbury in 1587. The accuracy of many of his stories has often been impugned by such writers as the Jesuit Parsons and Laud's chaplain, Heylyn.

GEORGE WISHART

(d. 1546)

born about 1514 of a gentle family settled near Montrose, was educated at Aberdeen and taught Greek, which he learned from a Frenchman, Marillier, in a school at Montrose. In 1538 he was accused of heresy, fled the country and visited England and Germany. In 1543 we find him at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, but he was probably not the George Wishart who was an agent of Henry VIII for the assassination of Cardinal Beaton in 1544; in that year, however, we find him preaching at Montrose, and it was then that Knox became his disciple. During the next two years we find him preaching at many places in Scotland open defiance of Rome, Cardinal Beaton and all their works; his zeal, eloquence and courage were undeniable, but it would have been impossible for any government which held the views of Beaton to tolerate such attacks, and Wishart was arrested and burned at St. Andrews in March 1546. Beaton was soon afterwards murdered, avowedly in revenge for Wishart's death.

SIR NICHOLAS BACON

(1509-1579)

son of Robert Bacon and Isabella Cage, was Lord Keeper of the Great Seal during the first twenty years of the reign of Elizabeth: he was also, by his second wife, the learned Anne Cooke, the father of the illustrious Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon, and the brother-in-law of Lord Burghley. He had been educated at the Abbey School of Bury St. Edmunds and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, became a law student at Gray's Inn, and was patronized by Cromwell. A zealous and honest Protestant, he was greatly enriched by gifts of monastic land, although he had vainly pleaded that the revenues of that land should be devoted to the cause of education. His first important legal office was that of Attorney of the Court of Wards (1546), and this he retained through the reign of Edward VI and, in spite of his opinions, through that of Mary. He was the warm and life-long friend of Cecil and of Matthew Parker, his Cambridge contemporaries. Elizabeth on her accession at once knighted him and made him Lord Keeper, and his Chancery judgements were famous for their soundness as well as for their wit. He was more than once in temporary disgrace with Her Majesty for his outspoken championship of the Protestant cause abroad, but she reposed great trust in him and visited him at his fine country house at Gorhambury. Bacon was a man of enormous fatness, which in connexion with his name was a subject of great mirth to himself as well as to his friends; he was also a man of great learning, good humour and spotless integrity.

SIR THOMAS SMITH

(1513-1577)

son of John Smith and Agnes Charnock, was born at Saffron Walden and educated at St. John's and Queens' Colleges, Cambridge. He became one of the most accomplished scholars of his day, particularly in the Greek language, our present pronunciation of which is due to his efforts : he was Public Orator in 1538, and one of the people who successfully pressed on Henry VIII the foundation which became Trinity College. He travelled in France and Italy, and in 1544 became Regius Professor of Civil Law ; he had already taken minor orders and held several ecclesiastical preferments, among them, in the reign of Edward VI, the Deanery of Carlisle and the Provostship of Eton. He was, however, a sound if moderate Protestant, and a warm friend of the Protector Somerset, to whom he clung even in his disgrace. Somerset made him Secretary of State, an office which he again held for a short time under Elizabeth (1572). On Somerset's fall he was imprisoned in the Tower ; on his release he interested himself to save his fellow prisoner, Gardiner, who therefore protected him during Mary's reign, although he had to resign Eton and Carlisle and go into retirement. On Elizabeth's accession he became one of her most trusted counsellors, and was twice sent on diplomatic missions to France. His learning was immense, especially in the domain of classical antiquities and political philosophy, and his greatest work is *De Republica Anglorum ; the manner of Government or Policy of the Realm of England*, written in France about 1564. It is the soundest defence of the Tudor system of government ever published. Smith died universally loved and respected at Theydon, Essex, in 1577.



SIR NICHOLAS BACON

From the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery
Painter unknown



SIR MARTIN FROBISHER

From the portrait by Cornelis Ketel
in the Bodleian Library



SIR THOMAS SMITH

From the portrait at Queens' College
Cambridge

SIR MARTIN FROBISHER

(d. 1595)

Arctic explorer, of a Yorkshire family, was probably born about 1535. He is known to have been on a voyage to the Guinea Coast in 1554: he was suspected of piracy in 1566, employed by the government off the Irish coast in 1572, and in 1576 started upon the first of his famous three voyages to the Arctic regions, with three ships, two of twenty-five and one of ten tons respectively, in search of the North-West Passage in favour of which Sir Humphrey Gilbert had written ten years before. This voyage lasted only three months, but the explorer believed that he had found the entrance to a great strait 'between America and Asia'. He also believed that he had discovered gold in the pyrite rocks. On the second voyage, in 1577, Frobisher laded his ship with two hundred tons of this rock, but, when it came to be tested, it was reported that no heat could be got sufficient to melt it: and, after a similar load had been brought home from a third voyage in 1578, the mistake was discovered and further exploration in this region ceased for some years. Frobisher afterwards had high command and fought valiantly against the Armada and on other occasions against the Spaniards. He died of his wounds in 1595.

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